



*DANIEL explaining the Hand
Writing on the Wall.*

Published 20 June 1749 by T. & P. Knapton.



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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE

EGYPTIANS,	MEDES, and
CARTHAGINI-	PERSIANS,
ANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

VOL. IV.

The Continuation of the History of the
PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

By Mr ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

The THIRD EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the
Crown in Ludgate-street. MDCCLXIX.

THE ANCHOR

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BOOK

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE ANTIEN HISTORY OF THE

PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

The first and third chapters of this book include the history of the Persians and Greeks, during forty-eight years and some months, which contain the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the last six years of which answer to the six first of the Peloponnesian war. This space of time begins at the year of the world 3531, and ends at 3579.

The second chapter comprehends the other transactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy, during the interval abovementioned.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the 42d year of that king's reign.

SECT. I. *Artaxerxes ruins the faction of Artabanus, and that of Hytaspes his elder brother.*

(a) **T**HE Greek historians give this prince the surname of Longimanus. Strabo (b) says, it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to Plutarch (c), it was because his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for this blemish, he would have been the most graceful man of his age. He was still more remarkable for his goodness and generosity. He reigned about forty-nine years.

(d) Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way, before he could establish himself in the quiet possession of his throne; one of which was, his brother Hytaspes, governor of Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who soon assembled to revenge his death. These, and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Persian nobles lost their lives. Artaxerxes having at last entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conspiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of those who were concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him, and who was executed in the following manner. (e) He was laid on his back in a kind of horse-trough, and strongly fastened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpose, was covered with another trough. In this horrid situation victuals were given him from time to time; and in case of his refusal to eat it, they were forced down his throat: honey mixed with

(a) A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.
p. 735.

(c) In Artax. p. 1011.

(e) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014.

(b) Lib. 15.

(d) Ctes. c. 30.

with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was perpetually exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal generally lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.

(d) Artaxerxes having crushed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hytaspes stood his ground so well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss; so that both armies separated with equal success; and each retired to prepare for a second battle. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, (not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour) defeated him in a second engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.

(e) To maintain himself in the throne, he removed all such governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as he suspected to hold a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and substituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himself to reforming the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By his wise conduct and zeal for the public good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.

SECT. II. *Themistocles flies to Artaxerxes.*

(f) **A**ccording to Thucydides, Themistocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dr Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks, that the Artaxerxes in question,

B 2

is

(d) Ctes. c. 31. (e) Diod. l. II. p. 54. (f) A. M. 3531.

is the same with him who is called Ahasuerus in Scripture, and who married Esther : but we suppose with the learned archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes who espoused this illustrious Jewess. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind ; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themistocles into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions.

(g) We have seen that Themistocles had fled to Admetus king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him : but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up ; threatening, in case of his refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ship which was sailing to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians ; the imminent danger to which Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself to the pilot and master of the ship ; after which, by intreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.

(b) Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, *viz.* to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father, pointing to some rotten gallies that lay neglected on the strand, *Behold there,* says he, *son,* (pointing to them) *thus do*

(g) Thucyd. l. i. p. 90, 91. Plut. in Themist. p. 125, 127. Diod. l. 11. p. 42, 44. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. 8, 10. (b) Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

A. Long.] PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

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do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no farther service.

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Æolia in Asia minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head; and promised two hundred * talents to any man who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles was concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him, under a strong guard, to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, use to carry their wives; those who carried him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

Being come to the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to audience, having matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. "Our laws, says he, command us "to honour the king in that manner, and to worship him "as the living image of the immortal God, who maintains "and preserves all things." Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and afterwards rising up, "Great king †," says he by an interpreter, "I am Themistocles the Athenian, who having been banished by the

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"Greeks,

* Two hundred thousand crowns, or about 45000 l. sterling.

† Thucydides makes him say very near the same words;

but informs us, that Themistocles did not speak them to the king, but sent them by way of letter before he was introduced to him.

"Greeks, am come to your court in hopes of finding an
 "asylum in it. I have indeed brought many calamities on
 "the Persians; but, on the other side, I have done them
 "no less services, by the salutary advices I have given them
 "more than once; and I now am able to do them more
 "important services than ever. My life is in your hands.
 "You may now exert your clemency, or display your ven-
 "geance: by the former you will preserve your suppliant;
 "by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of
 "Greece."

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness; but history informs us, he told his friends, that he considered Themistocles's arrival as a very great happiness; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish and make away with their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when this king was asleep, he started up three times in excess of joy, and cried thrice, *I have got Themistocles the Athenian!*

The next morning, at day-break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but destruction; especially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had said to him the night before, even in the presence chamber, just as he had left the king, *Thou serpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!* However, the serenity which appeared in the king's face seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken, for the king began by making him a present of two hundred * talents, which sum he had promised to any one who should deliver him up, and which consequently was his due, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account

* Two hundred thousand French crowns; or, about 45000 l. sterling.

count of the affairs of Greece. But, as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue; hoping he then should be able to explain those things he was desirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of a man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded, to show the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themistocles, having studied the Persian tongue twelve months, made so great a progress, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This princee treated him with uncommon marks of friendship and esteem; he made him marry a lady descended from one of the noblest families in Persia; gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and every banquet and entertainment; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy upon that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem, and received his visits. It is observed, as a proof of the peculiar favour shewed him, that by the king's special order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof his great credit is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him, he desired that he might be suffered to make his entry on horseback, into the city of Sardes, with the royal tiara on his head: a ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the simplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him:

but

but Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, Themistocles was in such great credit, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more mixed with those of Greece, whenever the kings were desirous of drawing over any Greek to their interest, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them, than Themistocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is said also that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing condition in Persia, he was honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their court to him, said one day, when his table was covered magnificently: *Children, we should have been ruined, if we had not been ruined.*

But at last, as it was judged necessary for the king's interest, that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which should present itself; accordingly he was sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander; and for his subsistence, besides the whole revenues of that city, (which amounted to fifty * talents every year) had those of Myunte and Lampacus assigned him. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, viz. for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the antient kings of the east: instead of settling pensions on persons they rewarded, they gave them cities, and sometimes even provinces, which, under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting in a magnificent manner their family and equipage. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the utmost splendor, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

S E C T.

* Fifty thousand crowns; or, about 11250 l. sterling.

SECT. III. *Cimon begins to make a figure at Athens. His first atchievement and double victory over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of Themistocles.*

(i) **T**HE Athenians having lost one of their most distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals, by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour, and prefiged no good with regard to his future conduct. (k) The example of this illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, show, that parents must not always despair of the happiness of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself, having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with the affairs of the public. But Aristides perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, he consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the paths he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country?

(l) Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagances, his conduct was in all things great and

(i) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Diod. l. 11. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482, 483. (k) Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

(l) Ibid. p. 481.

and noble ; and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to Themistocles in prudence and sense, but that he was more just and virtuous than either of them ; and that without being at all inferior to them in military virtues, he surpassed them far in the practice of the moral ones.

It would be of great advantage to a state, if those who excel in professions of every kind, would take pleasure, and make it their duty, to fashion and instruct such youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, in the persons of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themistocles had left his country, having put to sea a fleet under the command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace : and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and sent ten thousand Athenians thither for that purpose.

(m) The fate of Eion is of too singular a kind to be omitted here. Boges * was governor of it under the king of Persia, and acted with such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as have few examples. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Asia with his family and all his effects. However, being persuaded he could not do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender. The city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw
from

(m) Herod. l. 7. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

* Plutarch calls him Butis. is more probable, that it happened under Artaxerxes his successor. Herodotus seems to place this history under Xerxes ; but it

from the walls into the river Strymon, all the gold and silver in the place; and causing fire to be set to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and afterwards rushed into them himself. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprizing an example of generosity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather savage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himself master also of the island of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theseus the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they founded a disputation or prize for tragic writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whose pieces were represented in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his first play on the stage, the archon, or chief magistrate who presided at these games, observing there was a strong faction among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the rest of the generals his colleagues, (who were ten in number, and chosen out of each tribe) to sit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Æschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatic poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

(n) The confederates had taken a great number of Barbarian prisoners in Sestus and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, intreated him to distribute the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives, (stark naked) on one side, and on the other all their

their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal ; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was thought a person no ways qualified to settle the distribution of prizes : for the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces, and bracelets of gold ; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks ; whilst the Athenians had only for their share a multitude of human creatures quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchased them all at a very high prize ; so that, with the monies arising from the ransom of them, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months ; besides a great sum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to mention what he himself had for his own share. He afterwards used to take exceeding pleasure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

(o) He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetor has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words. * *Cimon, says he, amassed riches only to use them ; and he employed them to no other use, but to acquire esteem and honour.* We may here perceive (by the way) what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens ; and with what justice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect soever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal gloriæ*. The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general ; who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleased. His table was daily covered in a frugal, but polite manner. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted ;

(o) Plut. in Cim. p. 484. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. 4. Athen. l. 12, p. 533.

* Φοσι τὴν κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κλῆσθαι μὴν ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

admitted ; and which are covered merely to display a vain magnificence or elegance of taste. Now that of Cimon was plain, but abundant ; and all the poor citizens were received at it without distinction. In thus banishing from his entertainments, whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expences of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domesticks, and a very great number of citizens ; demonstrating, by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men, the true use and value of riches.

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately some piece of money into the hands of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral ; and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner, to gain credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices ; since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

(p) Altho' he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the public, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion, or the smallest present ; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to speak, but to act, spontaneously, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

Besides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon had the finest sense, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, besides the sums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, from the retreat of Xerxes, were studious

of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to tilling and cultivating their lands, to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers, the ships they were obliged to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast and penetration for the future, gave such people some uneasiness at first, and were for obliging them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and suffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they chose; plainly perceiving that the allies, from being warlike in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but husbandry and trade; whilst the Athenians, by exercising the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardships, and daily increase in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened; this very people purchased themselves masters at their own expence; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

(9) No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch as Cimon. After the Barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but sailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships, took their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still pursuing his point, he bravely attacked the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, supported by the land-army on the coast. It was soon put to flight; and two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships and leapt into the sea, in order to join their land army.

(9) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim. p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 66, Diod. l. 11. p. 45—47.

army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops, which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. However Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he * landed, and marched them directly against the Barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with prodigious valour; however, being at last obliged to give way, they broke and fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners, and immensely rich spoils were taken. Cimon having in one day, gained two victories which almost equalled those of Salamin and Plataeæ; to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were come from Cyprus, to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon having achieved such glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field, are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner; and must reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve on strangers; whereas works, built for publick use, are his property in some measure for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. (r) It is well known that such embellishments in a city give infinite pleasure to the people, who are always

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struck

(r) Plut. de gerend. rep. p. 818.

* We don't find that the ancients made use of long-boats in making descents; the reason of which perhaps was, that as their galleys were flat-bottomed, they were brought to shore without any difficulty.

struck with works of this kind ; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and at the same time the most lawful method of acquiring their friendship and esteem.

(s) The year following, this general sailed towards the Hellespont ; and having drove the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, of which they had possessed themselves, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been it's sovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the island of Thasus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. These maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. (r) As if they had been in arms against the most cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death. The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war with the same obstinacy. (u) The women were no less inflexible than the men ; for the besieged wanting ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a seeming transport ; and when the city was in the utmost distress by famine, which swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides the Thasian, deeply afflicted with seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his country. Accordingly he put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself to the assembly, " Countrymen," says he, " do with me as you please, and don't spare me if you judge proper : but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare." The Thasians, struck with these words, abolished the law, but would not suffer it to cost so generous a citizen

(s) Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 66, 67.
Diod. l. 11. p. 53. (r) Polyæn, Str. l. 2. (u) Ib. l. 2.

a citizen his life; for they surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives and only dismantled their city.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold mines of those coasts, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have easily possessed himself of part of it, had he improved the occasion. And indeed, for his neglect in this point, at his return to Athens, he was prosecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a soul superior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the clearest light.

(x) The conquests of Cimon and the power of the Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences of it, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly proposed it to him.

Themistocles was in great perplexity on this occasion. On one side, the remembrance of the favours the king had heaped upon him; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions; the instances of the king who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, the love of his country, which the injustice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not banish from his mind; his strong reluctance to fully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements by so ignominious a step; perhaps too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who seemed to be as successful as valiant; these different reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprize, which, whether successful or not, would reflect shame on himself.

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To

(x) A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. Thucyd. l. i. p. 92. Plut. in Themist. p. 127.

To rid himself at once of all these inward struggles, he resolved to put * an end to his life, as the only method for him not to be wanting in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made that prince. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank bull's blood, or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poison, and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. (y) When the king was told the cause and manner of his death, he esteemed and admired him still more, and continued his favour to his friends and domesticks. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the publick square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near six hundred years after, and his tomb was still standing.

(z) Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, intituled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers ascribe to Themistocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man had poisoned himself, had added all the other particulars to embellish the story, which otherwise would have been very dry and unaffecting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost contemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where,

in

(y) Cic. de Senec. n. 72.

(z) Brut. n. 42, 43.

* *The wisest heathens did loved to lay violent hands on not think that a man was al- himself.*

in (a) Pausanias's time, his mausolæum was standing near the great harbour. This account seems much more probable than the other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. He had a great soul, an invincible courage, which danger even enflamed; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his country's love would temper and allay, but which sometimes carried him too far; * his presence of mind was such, that it immediately suggested whatever it was most necessary to act: in fine, he had a sagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, that revealed to him, in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies; pointing out to him at a distance, the several measures he should take to disconcert them, and inspired him with great, noble, bold, extensive views, with regard to the honour of his country. The most essential qualities of the mind were however wanting in him, I mean, sincerity, integrity, and fidelity: nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish in such as are charged with public affairs.

(b) Nevertheless, a noble sentiment as well as action are related of him, which speak a great and disinterested soul. † His daughter being asked of him in marriage, he preferred an honest poor man to a rich one of an indifferent character; and gave for his reason, *That in the choice of a son-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit.*

(a) Lib. I. p. I.

* De instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissimè judicabat, & de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat. *Corn. Nep. in Themist.* cap. I.

† Themistocles, cùm consuleretur utrum bono viro

(b) Plut. in Themist. p. 121.

pauperi, an minùs probato diviti filiam collocaret: EGO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGREAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO. *Cic. de Offic.* l. 2. c. 71.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *The Egyptians rise against Persia, supported by the Athenians.*

(c) **A**BOUT this time the Egyptians, to free themselves from a foreign yoke which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. They demanded aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ships at the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them out of so great a kingdom.

(d) Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships; they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimus their general; and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Persian general, and an hundred thousand of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city: but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the largest and strongest of the three, they were besieged in it near three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

(e) Ar-

(c) A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 460. Thucyd. l. i. p. 68, 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32—35. Diod. l. ii. p. 54—59.

(d) A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.

(e) Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige them to turn their arms another way, he sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardor, and accordingly he gave Megabyfus (f) and Artabazus the command of the forces designed against Egypt. These generals immediately raised an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. (g) Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed towards the Nile, whilst Megabyfus, at the head of the land-army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated: but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyfus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reached Biblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, and both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had still a small party in the fens, where he long supported himself, through the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

(b) The siege of Prosopitis was still carrying on. The Persians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the usual methods, because of the stratagems and intrepidity

(e) A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 458. (f) A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 457. (g) A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456. (b) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

pidity of the besieged, they therefore had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the course, by different canals, of the arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themselves a passage for their whole army to enter the island. Inarus seeing that all was lost, compounded with Megabyfus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of six thousand men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose they set fire to their ships, and drawing up in order of battle, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Persians, hearing they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they should all be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free passage to their native country either by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, put the conquerors in possession of Biblos and of the whole island, and went by sea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it.

But this was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the aid of their besieged countrymen, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile, (just after the Athenians had surrendered) to disengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the instant they entered, the Persian fleet, which kept out at sea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilst the army discharged showers of darts upon them from the banks of the river; thus only a few ships escaped, which opened themselves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all the rest were lost. Here ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for six years in Egypt, which kingdom was now united again to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign

reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth (*i*) year. But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

SECT. V. *Inarus is delivered up to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of Megabysus, who revolts.*

(*k*) **A**RTAXERXES, after refusing to gratify the request of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importuning him to put Inarus and his Athenians into her hands, in order that she might sacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her son, at last yielded to her solicitations. But how blind, how barbarously weak must this king have been, to break through the most solemn engagements merely through complaisance; who (deaf to remorse) violated the law of nations, solely to avoid offending a most unjust mother. (*l*) This inhuman princess, without regard to the faith of solemn treaties, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabysus was in the deepest affliction on that account; for as he had promised that no injury should be done them, the affront reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court, and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his discontent was so great, that he raised an army and revolted openly.

(*m*) The king sent Ofiris, who was one of the greatest lords of the court, against him with an army of two hundred thousand men. Megabysus engaged Ofiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Ofiris, Megabysus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

(*n*) The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him, the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius,

(*i*) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. (*k*) A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 448. Ctes. c. 35—40. (*l*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 72. (*m*) A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 447. (*n*) A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

Artarius, the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabysus gained as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius, and Amytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabysus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade the latter to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negotiation; the king pardoned him; and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabysus seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion first, commanded Megabysus's head to be struck off: Amytis the king's sister, and Amestris, with the greatest difficulty, prevailed upon the king to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabysus was therefore sent to Cyrt, a city on the Red-sea, and condemned to end his days there: however, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape and returned to Susa, where, by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabysus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: * but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabysus.

It

* Beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exolvere, pro gratia odium red-
ta sunt, dum videntur exolvi ditur, *Tacit. Annal.* l. 4.
posse: ubi multum antever- c. 18.

It is surprizing that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him. Could any thing be so weak ; and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king ? nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from some expressions of (o) Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some publick kind of atonement for it : for, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer ; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.

SECT. VI. *Artaxerxes sends Esdras and afterwards Nebemiah to Jerusalem.*

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in few words, the several things which happened to the people of God during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

(p) In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Esdras obtained of the king and his seven counsellors an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to settle the Jewish government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Esdras was descended from Saraia, who was high-priest of Jerusalem, when destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Esdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews,

by

(o) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 173.
Ant. J. C. 467 Esdr. I. c. vii. &c.
Vol. IV.

(p) A.M. 3537.

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by his great knowledge in the Scriptures; it being said of him, (q) *That he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel.* He now set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelites as had staid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests upon his arrival in Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, as, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, (r) *Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son.* This commission, as I observed, impowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews, pursuant to the law of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil doers, not only by imprisoning their persons and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Esdras was invested and which he exercised faithfully during thirteen years, till (*) Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian court.

(s) Nehemiah was also a Jew of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privilege annexed to it, viz. of being often near the king's person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most favourable moments. However, neither his exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was still in Sion.

(q) Esdras. I. c. viii. v. 3. (r) Esdras I. c. viii. v. 21. (*) A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454. (s) Nehem. c. i. & ii.

Sion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed him of the sad state of that city, that it's walls lay in ruin, it's gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies, and made the scorn of all their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing an unusual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderness of heart rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheless much more valuable than the most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country: owned that was the subject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Persia his predecessors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes immediately decreed, that the walls and gates of Jerusalem should be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by a considerable officer, to escort him thither. He likewise writ to all the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

(*t*) It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear and be put to death. I shall here insert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication

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of

(*t*) Dan. c. ix. v. 24, 27.

of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this history.

“ (u) Thou art greatly beloved, therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand, THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seventy weeks; and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood; and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.”

(x) When Esdras was in power, as his chief view was to restore religion to it's antient purity, he disposed the books of Scripture into their proper order, revised them all very carefully, and collected the incidents relating to the people of God in antient times; in order to compose out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. It is their books that end the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after them continued in a direct series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. While

Esdras

(u) Dan. c. ix. v. 23 to 27 inclusive,
Meaux's Universal History.

(x) Bishop of

Esdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom profane authors call the father of history, began to write. Thus we find that the latest authors of the books of Scripture, flourished about the same time with the first authors of the Grecian history; and when it began, that of God's people to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made no mention of the Jews in his history; for the Greeks desired to be informed of such nations only, as were famous for their wars, their commerce, and grandeur; so that as Judea was then but just rising from it's ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

SECT. VII. *Character of Pericles. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people.*

INOW return to Greece. From the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides, (the exact time of which is not known) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all credit and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was; in what manner he had been educated, and his scheme and method of government.

(y) Pericles was descended, by the mother's as well as father's side, from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clisthenes, who expelled the Pisistratides, descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design he formed of engaging in state affairs.

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the *Intelligence*, from his being the first, as we are told. who

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ascribed

(y) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 153---156.

ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, but to a superior intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion subsisted long before his time, but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras instructed his pupil perfectly in the part of philosophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called * physicks. This study gave him a strength and greatness of soul, which raised him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices, and vain practices generally observed in his time; and which, in affairs of government and military enterprizes, either disconcerted often the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, authorized and covered with the specious veil of religion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phenomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or else omens and presages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary astrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the groveling and weak superstitions to which ignorance gives birth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a strength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm hope of the blessings to be expected from them. Altho' he found infinite charms in this study, he did not however devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as a statesman; and he had so much power over himself (a very difficult thing) as to prescribe himself limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent he cultivated with the greatest care, because he looked upon it as the most necessary instrument to all who are desirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of reigning in

* The antients, under this name, comprehended what we call physicks and metaphysicks; that is, the knowledge of spiritual things, as God and spirits; and that of bodies.

in the assemblies, engrossing suffrages, determining affairs, and exercising a kind of absolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as the several sciences he had learnt from Anaxagoras * were directed; exalting, to borrow Plutarch's expression, the study of philosophy with the dye of rhetoric; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his discourse, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time in this study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. † The poets, his contemporaries, used to say, that his eloquence was so powerful, that he lightened, thundred, and agitated all Greece. || It had those piercing and lively strokes, that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he opposed, with the greatest tenaciousness, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians; he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of cruelty with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words, whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides ‡, his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether

* Βαφῇ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν υποχέομεν.

† Ab Aristophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. *Cic. in Orat. n. 29.*

|| Quid Pericles? De cujus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen

id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, popolare omnibus & jucundum videretur: ejus in labris veteres comici---leporem habitasse dixerunt: tantamque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. *Cic. lib. 3. de Orat. n. 138.*

‡ Not the historian.

whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler : " Whenever, " says he, I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, " ~~in~~ such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all " the spectators that I did not throw him, though they them- " selves saw him on the ground." Nor was he less prudent and reserved, than strong and vehement in his speeches ; and 'tis related, that he never spoke in public, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. (z) Whenever he went into the assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself ; *Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty ; to Greeks, to Athenians.*

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used, in order to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day to fill the important offices of state ; and a just censure of * those, who, disregarding whatever is called study and learning, bring into those employments, (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in deciding. (a) Plutarch, in a treatise where he shows, that 'tis to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself, preferably to any other class of men ; (because in instructing them he, at the same time, teaches whole cities and republics) verifies his assertion from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras ; Dionysius of Syracuse by Plato ; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras ; Cato, the famous censor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived for the same purpose ; and lastly, the famous Scipio,

(z) Plut. in Symp. lib. 1. p. 610. (a) P. 777.

* Nunc contra plerique ad tione rerum, nulla scientia honores adipiscendos, & ad ornati. Cic. lib. 3. de Orat. remp. gerendam, nudi veni- n. 136. unt & inermes, nulla cogni-

Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, always kept Panetius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed in order to set them in motion; and the manner it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; † for it was principally in that the great men among the antients used to make their skill and politicks consist. He found by the reflections he had made on the several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit, their own credit or authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice, and fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed, that the most antient Athenians, who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very rich; was descended from an illustrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent therefore his being obnoxious to the suspicion and jealousy of the people, he at first shunned all affairs of government, which require a constant attendance in the city; and was solely intent upon distinguishing himself in war and dangers.

Seeing Aristides dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece; he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from

† Olim noscenda vulgi natura, & quibus modis temperanter haberetur; Senatusque & optimatum ingenia qui maximè perdidicerant, callidè temporum & sapientes habebantur. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 33.*

from affecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny, and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the credit and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life; and assumed, in all things, the character of a statesman, wholly busied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen in the streets, except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He left off going to banquets, assemblies, and other diversions of that kind, which he had used to frequent; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go to supper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

(b) He † knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, commonly increase their disregard for those who are always in their sight; and that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate; and it was observed that such a behaviour did Themistocles great prejudice. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himself desired; and to preserve such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn, and in a manner withered, by an over-great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions. (c) Hence it was said that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events only; and left the direction of those of less importance to subaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends,

(b) Plut. de sui laude. p. 441.
rep. p. 811.

(c) Plut. de ger.

† Ista nostra assiduitas, quantum satietatis — Utri-
Servi, nescis quantum inter- que nostrum desiderium nihil
dum afferat hominibus fastidii, obfuisse. Cic. pro Mur. n. 21.

friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

(d) Pericles employed his whole industry and application to gain the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counter-balance the fame and credit of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much they differ from our behaviour in that respect. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient (in order to gain the love of the populace) no less effectual perhaps, but certainly not so lawful and honourable. He was the first who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who distributed among them the public revenues for the expence of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to gratify them at the games, as for their presence in the courts of justice, and the public assemblies. It is impossible to say, how fatal these unhappy politics were to the republic, and the many evils with which they were attended. For these new regulations, besides their draining the public treasury, gave the people a luxurious and dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labour.

By * such arts as these Pericles had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he may be said to have attained a monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he

(d) Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

* Pericles felicissimis naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus & instructus, liberis Atheparum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit; egit enim

ille urbem & versavit arbitrio suo—Quid inter Pisistratum & Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis, tyrannidem exercuit? Val. Max. l. 8. c. 9.

he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, except that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, however enormous, could not yet restrain the comic writers from lashing him very severely in the theatres; and it does not appear, that any of the poets, who censured Pericles with so much boldness, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was out of prudence and policy, that he did not attempt to curb this licentiousness of the stage; nor to silence the poets, that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty, and prevent their discovering that they really were enslaved.

(a) But Pericles did not stop here. He boldly resolved, if possible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, because he had never been elected either † Archon, Thesmotheta, king of the sacrifices, nor Polemarch. These were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last lessened the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobility consisted. The people, emboldened and supported by so powerful a faction, subverted all

(a) Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

† After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last invested in nine magistrates, called Archons, and lasted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this magistrate was properly at the head of the rest, and gave his name to the year; and six Thesmotheta, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

all the fundamental laws and antient customs ; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of most causes that used to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.

Cimon being returned to Athens, was afflicted to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to it's pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people against him ; reproaching him, among many other things, his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying sufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy : for, in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia ; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to cry, *The Spartans do not act in this manner.* Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens ; but an event, in which he nevertheless had no share, made him the object of their utmost detestation.

SECT. VIII. *An earthquake in Sparta. Insurrection of the Helots. Seeds of division arise between the Athenians and Spartans. Cimon is sent into banishment.*

(b) **I**N the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, there happened the most dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In several places the country was entirely swallowed up ; Taygetus and other mountains were shaken to their foundations ; many of their summits being torn away, came tumbling down ; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houses only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity

(b) A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Plut. in Cim.
p. 488, 489.

tunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murder such as had escaped the earthquake : but finding them under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and being strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity sent to Athens to implore succours ; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way advisable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in it's ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon being struck with horror at these politics, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing of his country ; declaring, in the strongest terms, that it was absolutely weak and inconsistent, *to leave Greece lame of one of it's legs, and Athens without a counterpoise* ; the people came into his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two limbs on which Greece stood ; so that if one of them was destroyed, the rest were inevitably crippled. It is also certain, that the Athenians were so elate with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprizing, that they wanted a curb ; for which none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoise to the head-strong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thousand men.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state, when a great fund of merit unites in his person, with a well-established reputation for probity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevails so far as to inspire the Athenians with noble
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and magnanimous sentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which never fails to shew itself in the most sensible manner on these occasions. By the ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the groveling and unjust (though too common) political views, that prompt a people to consider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits, and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly wise and equitable; but it is surprizing, how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since this is all that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

(c) Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithoma. But these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power and great fame; so that they affronted them so far, as to send them back upon the suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they declared themselves, from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards augmented through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was nevertheless suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithoma, after making a ten years defence in it, surrendered at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that

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they

(c) Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 67, 68.

they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and settled them in Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. (*d*) The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought, the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with those of Marathon and Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

(*e*) It was on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from his proscription; repaired with some soldiers to his tribe to serve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army against the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies caused him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, to prove their innocence; and, if possible, to efface from the minds of the citizens a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly those brave soldiers, who were an hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the center of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner present and before their eyes. They fought with so much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly.

I omit several events of little importance.

(*d*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 69, 71. Diod. l. ii. p. 59—65.
 A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 450. (*e*) Plut. in Cim.
 p. 489.

SECT. IX. *Cimon is recalled. He establishes peace between the two cities. He gains several victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the necessity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's death.*

(f) **T**HE Athenians, perceiving the great occasion they had for Cimon, recalled him from banishment, in which he had spent five years. It was Pericles himself who proposed and drew up that decree; so moderate in those times, says Plutarch, were feuds and animosities, and so easy to be appeased, when the welfare of their country required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and comply with the occasions of the public.

(g) The instant Cimon returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks; reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in effect of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design to attack their neighbours and allies, he thought it advisable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly he put to sea with a fleet of two hundred sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against the island of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabyfus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thousand men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the Squadron which Cimon sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took an hundred of his ships. He sunk many of them, and chased the rest as far as the coasts of Phœnicia. But as if this victory had been only

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a prelude

(f) Plut. in Cim. p. 490. (g) A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450. Plut. ibid. Diod. l. 12. p. 73, 74.

a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabysus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had reduced that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the Barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a prospect than that of the entire subversion of the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command against him, added fresh fire to his courage; and almost assured of success, he was infinitely pleased with the occasion of trying his abilities with those of that general. But we have already seen that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

(b) Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained such great losses, resolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the most advantageous conditions they could. Megabysus and Artabazus sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were chosen on both sides, and Gallias was at the head of those of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follow: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, with such laws and forms of government as they should think fit to chuse. 2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should march any troops within three days march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

Thus

(i) Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years compleat, and in which infinite numbers of Persians as well as Greeks had perished.

(k) Whilst this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail with the fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost care. Accordingly this was executed with so much secrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was universally regretted *, which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities that dignify the soul; the most tender son, a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician, an accomplished general; modest when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; simple and averse to ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of riches and abundance; in fine, so great a lover of the poor citizens, as to share his whole estate with them, without being ashamed of such companions of his fortune. History mentions no statues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obsequies celebrated after his death: but the greatest honour that could be paid him, was the sighs and tears of the people; † these were permanent and lasting statues, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of the weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages.

(i) A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.
Cim. p. 491.

(k) Plut. in

* Sic se gerendo, minimè est mirandum, si & vita ejus fuit secura, & non acerba. Cor. Nep. in Cim. cap. 4.

† Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies

& mansuræ. Nam, quæ saxo struuntur, si judicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 38.

ages. For the most splendid mausolæums, the works of brass and marble that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which inclose nothing but vile dust and putrefaction.

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death; for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable or glorious against the Barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendant over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity against each other; and at last proceeded to open war, the fatal consequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECT. X. *Thucydides is opposed to Pericles. The envy raised against the latter. He clears himself, and prevails to have Thucydides banished.*

(1) **T**HE nobles of Athens seeing Pericles raised to the highest degree of power, and far above all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose him with a man, who, in some measure, might make head against him, and prevent his great authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed him with Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He indeed did not possess the military talents in so eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people; shaping their opinions, and directing their assemblies as he pleased; and as he never stirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles was solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions, and slackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.

He

(1) Plut. in Peric. p. 158—161.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important service, by training up a great number of seamen for it's defence. He also planted several colonies in Cherfonefus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltæ in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had different views in settling these colonies, besides the particular design he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle persons, who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to subsist themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling native Athenians among them as so many garrisons, which might prevent their engaging in any measures contrary to the interest of that people. The Romans acted in the same manner; and it may be said, that so wise a policy was one of the most effectual methods used by them to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the sense of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raised the admiration and astonishment of all foreigners, and gave them a mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprising that, in so short a space, so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving and painting, should be performed; and at the same time be carried to the highest perfection: for it is generally found, that edifices raised in haste, boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquisitely-beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to assiduous labour, can give them such a strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and however subsisted through
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to great a length of time. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, had the beauty of an antique ; and at this time, *i. e.* above five hundred years after, says Plutarch, they retain a freshness and youth as if just come out of the artist's hand ; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to diminish their lustre ; as if an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from age, were diffused into every part of those works.

But that circumstance which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the bank of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos, where it had been deposited ; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not amplify on these occasions ; for only the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenone, had cost three millions of livres *.

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them ; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed, the Barbarians, whilst the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships ; and were excused for some sums of money, which, from the instant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them ; provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in consideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were sufficiently provided with all things necessary for war, it was but just that they should employ the
rest

* About 145000 *l.* sterling.

rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to their city; and, the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a plenty of all things, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens: that they themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers and turners; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots; others for land-carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, rope-makers, paviors, &c. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different artificers and workmen, who as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestic army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase throughout all sexes and ages: lastly, that whilst men of robust bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or mariners, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the public monies; it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city should also be maintained in their way; and that as all were members of the same republic, they all should reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute to it's security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expence of all these things, provided it should be declared in the public inscriptions, that he only had been at the charge of them. At these words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engross that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose.

Phidias the celebrated sculptor presided over all these works, as director-general. It was he who particularly cast the
gold

gold * and ivory statue representing Pallas, which was so highly valued, by all the judges of antiquity. There arose an incredible ardor and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The odeon, or music-theatre, which had a great number of seats and columns within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and, having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendor of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaiming against him, and tearing his character to pieces; accusing him of squandering the public monies, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or other of them must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public monies, troops, and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended not only over the Greeks, but the Barbarians also,
and

* Non Minervæ Athenis Eboræ hæc & auro constat.
factæ amplitudine utemur, *Plin. l. 36. c. 5. This statue*
cum ea sit cubitorum xxvi. *was twenty-six cubits in height,*

and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their testimony; but I cannot say whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it just in him to expend in superfluous buildings, and vain decorations, the immense * sums intended for carrying on the war; and would it not have been better to have eased the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles's administration, were raised to a third part more than before? According to Cicero (m), such edifices and other works only are worthy of admiration, as are of use to the public, as aquæducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, sea-ports; and to these we must add, the work made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero observes at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. (n) Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendor, but from truth, observes (after his master Socrates) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their antient manners.

SECT. XI. *Pericles changes his conduct with regard to the people. His prodigious authority. His disinterestedness.*

(o) **W**HEN Pericles saw himself invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not so mild and tractable as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as so many winds; but drawing

(m) Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60. (n) In Gorg. p. 515. In Alcib. 1. p. 119. (o) Plut. in Pericl. p. 161.

* They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.

drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this, too loose, popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack, he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the publick good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendant over the minds of the people that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Sometimes, by his bare counsel, and by persuasive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously; at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner drag them forward against their will, to those things which were for their good; imitating on this occasion a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows what times are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleasing; in order after to administer those of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.

And indeed, it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required, to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power and exceedingly capricious: and on this occasion Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild transports and starts of the people, or to raise them when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he showed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this art consists in moving, seasonably, the various passions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence; but, as Thucydides observes, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

Plutarch

(p) Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very essential to statesmen; a quality, well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the publick, and which supposes a great superiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to associate with himself persons of merit in his labours, to employ each of these according to his talents; and to leave them the management of small matters, which only consume time, and deprive him of the liberty of mind, so necessary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, says Plutarch, is productive of two advantages. First, it extinguishes or at least breaks the force of envy and jealousy, by dividing, in some measure, a power, which is grating and offensive to us when we see it united in one single person, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the execution of affairs, and makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. The hand, says he, which from it's being divided into five fingers, so far from being weaker, is the stronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the same of a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive: whereas, the indiscreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and is for engrossing all things, serves to no other purpose but to set his weakness and incapacity in a stronger light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who, though he stand almost motionless himself, however puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm; so Pericles was the soul of the government; and, seeming to do nothing of himself, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one

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man,

man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and so on.

(9) To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no less rare and valuable, I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles had so great a disinclination to the receiving of gifts, so utter a contempt for riches, and was so far above all rapaciousness and avarice, that though he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state; though his power had surpassed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long disposed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he did not however add a single drachma to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republic; the just and deserved fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It was not only for a few short moments, nor during the first heats of favour, which are generally short-lived, that he preserved his authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithstanding the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared against him; and of these forty years he spent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's banishment, and disposed all affairs with absolute power. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own person, his soul was always superior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those rich men, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of economy, or the expences of pride and folly, are always poor in the midst of their riches: unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domestics; and at last die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmost detestation by their unfortunate creditors. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want
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(9) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 161, 162.

of œconomy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the publick monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place, * viz. that when a man has squandered away his estate, he then makes it his whole study to retrieve the loss of it by all sorts of methods, not excepting the most criminal.

Pericles knew much better the use a statesman ought to make of riches. He was sensible that he ought to expend them in the service of the publick, such as the procuring of able men to assist him in the administration; the relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumstances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thousand such things; to which doubtless, either on account of the exquisite joy they give, or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expences lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his estate with the utmost œconomy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended; confining himself and his family to a decent subsistence, (from which he banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind) suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life indeed, did no way please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a sufficient expence for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low and sordid œconomy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houses where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to these complaints, and directed his views to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Aristides and Cato. After saying that political virtue, or the art of

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governing

* Si ambitione ærarium exhauserimus, per scelera splendendum erit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 2, c. 38.

governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that œconomy is not one of the most inconsiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state; the art that teaches to dispose of, and make a good use of them, and which is called œconomy, is certainly a branch of the art of policy; and not one of the most inconsiderable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expences, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburthen a people with taxes: and keeps always in reserve, in the publick coffers, monies sufficient for the supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen accident. Now what is said of a kingdom or of a city, may be applied to particular persons. For a city, which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united, is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it consists, are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this science which relates to the government of a family: but I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the publick revenues.

SECT. XII. *Jealousy and contests arise between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years.*

(a) **S**UCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestic concerns: and he was no less famous for his administration of public affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it; Pericles, to inspire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, published a decree, importing, that orders should be sent to all the
Greeks,

(a) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

Greeks, inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all the cities great or small, to send immediately their deputies or representatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the Barbarians ; to perform the sacrifices, which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them : as also to consider on the necessary expedients for establishing such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty persons were chosen for this embassy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dorians of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes ; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponnesus ; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount OËta, and those of the gulph of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Thessaly ; to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened in Athens, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain ; the cities not sending their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible that Pericles's design was, to have Athens acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities ; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of dissension had, for some years, began to disturb the tranquillity

tranquillity of Greece ; and we shall find by the sequel, that dis gusts augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprizes. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, assured themselves of success. His chief maxim of war was, never to venture a battle, unless he were almost certain of victory, and not to lavish the blood of the citizens. He used to say frequently, that were it in his power they should be immortal ; that when trees were felled they shoot to life again in a little time, but when once men die they are lost for ever. A victory that was only the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him as little worthy of praise, though it often was much admired.

His expedition into the Thracian Chersonesus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country : for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of that peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea ; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with an hundred ships round Peloponnesus, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the success of which was not once interrupted on this occasion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet ; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he displayed to the Barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians ; and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed the empire of the seas without a rival.

(b) But so constant and shining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power

power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily, (a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived soon after;) and to extend their conquests towards Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving into such idle views, or supporting them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or measure. It was his opinion, that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in securing and preserving their present acquisitions; and he thought he had gained a great point, in restraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.

(c) This name was given to the war, which was raised on account of Delphos. The Lacedæmonians having entered armed into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the people of Phocis of the superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphians. As soon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and restored the Phocienses.

The Eubœans having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, but news was brought, that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms; and that the Lacedæmonians, headed by Plistonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all possible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

After

(d) After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored things to a tranquillity for the present : but as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

SECT. XIII. *New subjects of contention between the two nations, occasioned by the Athenians laying siege to Samos ; by their succouring the people of Corcyra, and besieging Potidea. An open rupture ensues.*

(e) **T**HE Athenians, six years after, took up arms against Samos in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contending for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to please a famous courtesan, of whom he was very fond ; her name was Aspasia, a native of Miletus. After several events and battles, Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is said, that this was the first time he used military engines, as battering-rams and tortoises, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was surnamed Periphoretus. The use of these machines had been long known in the east. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months siege, surrendered, Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expences of the war. Part of this sum they paid down ; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles being returned to Athens, buried in a splendid manner all who had lost their lives in this war, and pronounced in person the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced,

(d) A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 75. Diod. p. 87. (e) A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. 12. p. 88, 89. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165—167.

duced, was afterwards regularly observed. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after, for the like ceremony in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

(f) Pericles, who foresaw that a rupture would soon ensue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, advised the former to send aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea; foretelling them, that they would be attacked by the Peloponnesians. The occasion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave rise to that of Peloponnesus, one of the most considerable events in the Grecian history, was as follows.

* Epidamnus, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyrans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing, in time, very large and populous, divisions arose in it, and the common people expelled the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infested them greatly with their incursions. In this extremity they first had recourse to the Corcyrans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent succours to, and settled other inhabitants in it. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyrans besieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to its aid, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that very day, upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners, till further orders. The Corcyrans erected a trophy, murdered all their prisoners except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people

(f) A. M. 3572. Ant. J. C. 432. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 17—37. Diod. l. 12. p. 90—93. Plut. in Pericl. p. 167.

* This city was afterwards called Dyrrhachium.

people of Corcyra, finding it would be impossible for them to make head alone against such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the states of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not declared themselves, the liberty of joining whom they pleased, or of standing neuter. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done ; judging it their interest not to espouse any party, in consequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now sent for this purpose to Athens, which the Corinthians hearing, they also sent deputies thither. The affair was debated with great warmth in presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice put to the vote in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians ; but afterwards changing their opinion, (doubtless on the remonstrances of Pericles) they received the Corcyrans into their alliance. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them ; (for they could not declare war against Corinth, without breaking at the same time with all Peloponnesus,) but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either personally, or in their allies. Their real design was, to set those two states, very powerful by sea, at variance ; and after each should have exhausted the other, by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest : for at that time there were but three states in Greece, who possessed powerful fleets ; and these were Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly sent them ten galleys, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies : this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near
the

the island of Sibotis, opposite to Corcyra : it was one of the most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that was ever fought between the Greeks. The advantage was almost equal on both sides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian gallies came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sibotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second engagement. However, the latter contented themselves with sailing away in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sibotis, each ascribing the victory to himself.

(g) From this war arose another, which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which sent magistrates thither annually ; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side next Pallene ; to deliver hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity ; and to send back the magistrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of so unjust a nature only fomented the revolt (b). The Potidæans declared against the Athenians, and several neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth armed and sent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail ; as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army, who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign

(g) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 37—42. Diod. l. 12. p. 93, 94.

(b) Plut. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to despise and subdue with ease. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilst the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them; Socrates used to come into the open air as thin clad as usual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and wit were the life of all tables; and induced others to put the glass round chearfully, though he himself never drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himself before him, defended him valiantly, and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth; Socrates, who only sought for opportunities to inflame him with desire of true glory, contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cause the crown and complete suit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be adjudged to Alcibiades.

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore besieged. (i) The Corinthians, fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; who all in conjunction with them, sent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much disgusted at the Athenians, did not send a deputation publicly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were subject, but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The Megarians complained vehemently against the Athenians, that

(contrary

(i) Thucyd. l. i. p. 43—59.

(contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice of the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them, by a public decree, access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. (k) By that decree, according to Plutarch *, the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcilable hatred against Megara; and ordained that all Megarians should be put to death, that set foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a body of soldiers twice a year, to lay waste the territories of the Megarenses.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost force and freedom. He represented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themselves never swerved from the most inviolable integrity, either in public or private transactions, they, for that very reason, were less suspicious of the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: That instead of flying, with instant activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite crushed by them: That by their indolence and supineness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by insensible degrees, their present height of grandeur and power: That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians, " That this active, " vigilant, and indefatigable people were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Em-
G 2 " ployed,

(k) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

* According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two courtezans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled, The

Acharnanians, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet, who was a professed slanderer and satyrist.

“ ployed, (says he) wholly in their projects, they form
“ only such as are of the greatest and most intrepid nature;
“ their deliberations are speedy, and their executions the
“ same. One enterprize serves only as a step to a second.
“ Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they turn
“ every thing to their advantage; and never stop in their
“ career, or are discouraged. But you, who are oppressed
“ by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal
“ tranquillity; and do not reflect, that a man who desires
“ to live calm and easy, must not only forbear injuring
“ others, but also not let any ill be done to himself; and
“ that justice consists, not only in forbearing to commit
“ evil ourselves, but in avenging that done to us by others.
“ Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too
“ antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is ne-
“ cessary for men, in politicks as well as in all other things,
“ to conform always to the times. When a people are at
“ peace, they may follow their antient maxims; but when
“ they are involved in a variety of difficulties, they must
“ try new expedients, and set every engine at work to ex-
“ tricate themselves. It was by these arts that the Athenians
“ have increased their power so much. Had you imitated
“ their activity, they would not have dispossessed us of Cor-
“ cyra, and would not now be laying siege to Potidæa.
“ Follow, at least, their example on this occasion, by suc-
“ couring the Potidæans and the rest of your allies, as your
“ duty obliges you; and do not force your friends and neigh-
“ bours, by forsaking them, to have recourse, out of de-
“ spair, to other powers.”

The Athenian ambassador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not think it advisable to let this speech go unanswered. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the still recent services that the republic, by which he was sent, had done to all Greece, which (he said) merited some regard: and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much less should endeavours be used to lessen it's power. That the Athenians could not
be

be charged with having usurped an empire over Greece ; since it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in some measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm : That those who murmured, did it without grounds ; and only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependance and subjection, though of the gentlest and most equitable kind : That he exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a resolution ; and not involve themselves and all Greece in a war, which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences. That gentle methods may be found, for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, were able to oppose force with force ; and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance of those that forswear themselves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before it passed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, setting himself above those prejudices which so strongly byassed the rest, and directing his views to futurity, made a speech, in which he set forth the dreadful consequences of the war they were going to embark in ; shewed the strength of the Athenians ; exhorted them first to try gentle methods, which they themselves had seemed to approve ; but to make, in the mean time, the necessary preparations for carrying on so important an enterprize, and not be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise expostulations, a war was resolved. The people caused the allies to return into the assembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors ; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree

of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce ; and was not owing so much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

(k) Accordingly the allies were convened a second time. They all gave their votes, in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved by a general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged advisable to begin them immediately ; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe the necessary formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The first who were sent thither, reviving an antient complaint, required of the Athenians to expel out of their city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was, either to procure his banishment or lessen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required, that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and the liberty of Ægina restored, and above all, that the decree against the Megarians should be repealed ; declaring, that otherwise no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third ambassador came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace ; but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

(k) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 77—84, & 93.

* This Cylon seized on the citadel of Athens above an hundred years before. Those who followed him, being besieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva, where they afterwards were taken out by force, and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such banished. However, they were recalled some time after.

SECT. XIV. *Troubles excited against Pericles. He determines the Athenians to engage in war against the Lacedæmonians.*

(1) **P**ERICLES opposed all these demands with great vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarians. He had great credit in Athens, and at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at first in person, they cited his most intimate friends, and those for whom he had the greatest esteem, as Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, before the people, and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the casting the statue of Minerva, which was his masterpiece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: for, that artist, from beginning that statue, had, by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive in him was, his having represented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess) his own person, and that of Pericles (*m*): and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature, or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible
to

(1) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168, 169.
tractat. de mund. p. 613.

(*m*) Aristot. in

to excuse in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a masterpiece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in so great an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she was become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and solidity of wit, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. (m) Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learnt rhetoric from her. Pericles declared also, that he was obliged to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed the principles of the art of policy, for she was exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still stronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife; he resigned her very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved passionately, though her reputation was more than suspicious. Aspasia was therefore accused of impiety and a dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his intreaties, and by the compassion he raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears whilst her cause was pleading, a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.

A decree had passed, by which informations were ordered to be taken out against all such * persons as denied what was ascribed

(m) Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

* Τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας. *Anaxagoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and presided in the government of the universe; destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were ascribed to them.*

ascribed to the ministry of the gods ; or those philosophers and others who taught praternatural things, and the motions of the heavens, doctrines on this occasion considered injurious to the established religion. The scope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles suspected with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras had been his master. This philosopher taught, that one only intelligence had modified the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order in which we now see it ; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan system. Pericles thinking it would be impossible for him to save his life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing that the people approved and received with pleasure all these accusations, they impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the public monies during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accounts ; was to be tried for oppression and rapine ; and the cause to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cause of fear, because in the administration of the public affairs his conduct had always been irreproachable, especially on the side of interest : he could not however but be under some apprehensions from the ill-will of the people, when he considered their great levity and inconstancy. One day when Alcibiades, (then very young) went to visit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be spoke with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades enquiring what these mighty affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. *He ought rather, says Alcibiades, not give them in :* and indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he made a resolution to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him ; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive ; and that the citizens, when in such
imminent

imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power, and exalted reputation.

(n) This is what some historians have related ; and the comic poets, in the life-time, and under the eye, as it were, of Pericles, spread such a report in public, to fully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occasion, makes a reflection which may be of great service, not only to those in the administration of public affairs, but to all sorts of persons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary commerce of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and manifestly laudable in all respects, that men, purely to discredit illustrious personages, should pretend to dive into their hearts ; and from a spirit of the vilest and most abject malice, should ascribe such views and intentions to them, as they possibly never so much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wishes, when the motive is obscure, and the same action may be considered in different lights, that men would always view it in the most favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been spread concerning Pericles, as the fomentor of the Peloponnesian war, merely from private views of interest ; whereas, the whole tenor of his past conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reasons of state, and for the good of the public, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.

(o) Whilst this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above-mentioned. At last the affair was debated in the assembly of the people, and it was resolved they should first deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a positive answer. Opinions, as is usual in these cases, were divided ; and some were for abolishing the decree

(n) Plut. de Herod. malign. p. 855, 856.
cyd. l. i. p. 93—99. Diod. l. 12. p. 95—97.

(o) Thu-

decree enacted against Megara, which seemed the chief obstacle to the peace.

Pericles spoke on this occasion with the utmost force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He shewed in the first place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greatest stress was laid, was not of so little consequence as they imagined: That the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to sound the disposition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be possible to frighten them out of their design; that should they recede on this occasion, it would betray fear and weakness: That the affair was of no less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution: That should the Athenians submit on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people seized with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at least, on the foot of equals: That with regard to the present matters in dispute, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians in a magisterial way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and revoke the decree relating to Megara: That such imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, *That should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacific methods, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED*: That the surest way to prevent a government from being eternally contesting about it's possessions, is to take up arms, and dispute it's rights sword in hand: That the Athenians had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he set before them, in the most pompous light, the present state of Athens, giving
a very

a very particular account of it's treasures, revenues, fleets, land as well as sea-forces, and those of it's allies ; contrasting these several things with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he said) had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they most depended. (*p*) And indeed, it appeared by the treasury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city nine thousand six hundred talents, which amount to about twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thousand French livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources from the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva only, amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thousand French livres, which might be taken from the statue without spoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land-forces, they amounted to very near thirty thousand men, and the fleet consisted of three hundred galleys. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle in their own country against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superior in number to theirs ; not to regard the laying waste of their lands, as they might easily be restored to their former condition ; but to consider the loss of their men as highly important, because irretrievable ; to make their whole policy consist in defending their city, and preserving the empire of the sea, which would certainly one day give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last ; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that system. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republics ; the one uncertain and fluctuating in it's deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from it's being obliged to wait for the

the consent of it's allies; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of it's resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises: Pericles, I say, concluded his speech, and gave his opinion as follows: "We have no more to do but to dismiss the ambassadors, and to give them this answer, that we permit those of Megara to trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, to trade with them. With regard to the cities of Greece, we shall leave those free who were so at the time of our agreement, provided they shall do the same with regard to those dependent on them. We do not refuse to submit the decision of our differences to arbitration, and will not commit the first hostilities: however, in case of being attacked, we shall make a vigorous defence."

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens; soon after which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

Transactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy.

AS the Peloponnesian war is a great event of considerable duration, before I enter upon the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in Græcia major, to the time we now speak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECT. I. *The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of Gelon in Syracuse, and his two brothers. Liberty is restored.*

I. GELON. WE have seen that (q) Xerxes, whose project tended to no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians

(q) A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. ii. p. 1. & 16—22.

nians to make war against the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thousand men, and sent thither a fleet of two thousand ships, and upwards of three thousand small vessels for the baggage, &c. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse.

(r) This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had signalized himself very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and was near taking Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and possession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, possessed himself of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himself master also of Syracuse, by the assistance of some exiles whom he had caused to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himself wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuse, and soon rendered himself very powerful. We may form a judgment of this * from the army which he offered the Grecian ambassadors, who came to desire his aid against the king of Persia; and by his demand of being appointed generalissimo of all their forces, which however they refused. The fear he was in at that time, of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He was extremely political in his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent

(r) Her. l. 7. c. 153-167.

* He promised to furnish two hundred ships, and thirty thousand men,

sent a trusty person with rich presents, with orders for him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They were landed in Sicily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, being descended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family, which at that time ruled at Syracuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hastened with a great army to the succour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the most compleat victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of * Thermopylae, the circumstances of which I have related in the (s) history of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon prescribed the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shows, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

The spoils won on this occasion were of immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament

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of

(s) Vol. I. p. 153. Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Herodotus says, that this battle was fought the same day with that of Salamin, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, intreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Sata-

min, that exalted their courage so much, that after this battle, they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

of the temples in Syracuse. They also took an incredible number of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own share.

(*t*) Gelon, after so glorious a victory, so far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself came unarmed thither; declared to the assembly every step of his conduct; the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately, with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king. (*u*) And, to preserve to latest posterity, the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in honour of him, wherein he was represented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned it's setting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it advisable, in order to erase from it all traces of tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people, to sell publicly all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time.

(*t*) A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.
Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. 13. c. 37.

(*u*) Plut. in

time. But first, he brought them to a trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses upon each of them. They all were condemned unanimously, the statue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the warm and sincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whose virtue they revered as if he had been still alive.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This did not add to his known zeal for their interests, but only enabled him to do them more important services. (*) For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which * Tacitus found no example, except in Vespasian, he was the first man whom the sovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increase the power of the state, to reward the services of his brave and faithful soldiers; and to attach them more strongly to Syracuse, from the sense of the advantageous settlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

(y) He was particularly famous for his inviolable sincerity, truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very essential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his subjects, and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be considered as the basis of all just policy and good government. Having occasion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated, (this, very probably, was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians) he addressed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them: but finding the Syracusans unwilling to be at that expence, he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as soon as the war should be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promised time. How happy is that government where

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such

(*) Diod. l. 11. p. 55.

(y) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.
His. l. 1, c. 50.

such justice and equity are exercised; and how mistaken are those ministers and princes, who violate them in the least!

(z) One of the chief objects of his attention, and in which his successor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be considered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn; and the immense revenues which might be produced from so rich a soil when industriously cultivated. He animated the husbandman by his presence, and delighted sometimes in appearing at their head, in the same manner as on other occasions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, says Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but also to exercise his subjects, to accustom and inure them to toils, and by that means to preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably follow a soft and indolent life. There are few maxims (in point of policy) on which the antients have insisted more strongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifest proof of their great wisdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what constitutes the strength and solid happiness of a state. (a) Xenophon, in a dialogue, the subject of which is government, entitled Hiero, shows the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who should excel in husbandry, and whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to all those who should distinguish themselves in them, it would give universal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions for the improvement of those arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the same manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who were taught music, and the art of playing on instruments very carefully. Possibly this was because of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he set on those kind

(z) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

(a) P. 916, 917.

kind of exercises. (b) One day at an entertainment, when, according to the usual custom, a lyre was presented to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's turn, instead of touching the instrument as the rest had done, he caused his horse to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and showed that he had learnt a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.

(c) From the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the several cities of it enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuse was particularly happy in it's tranquillity, under the auspicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though so extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the supreme power went in search of him, not courted with any art or inducement but those of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as it's great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himself only king for the defence of the state, to preserve the good order of society, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit to all his subjects, in his simple, modest, active and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he assumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the sweet satisfaction which results from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he considered the sovereignty as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation, licentiousness, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himself with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated to them that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but persuasion and a good example, which are the weapons of

(b) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.
P. 29, 30.

(c) Diqd. l. 11.

of virtue, and alone produce a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A rever'd old age, a name highly dear to all his subjects, a reputation equally diffused within and without his kingdoms; these were the fruits of that wisdom which he retained on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just showed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. Every family imagined itself deprived of it's best friend, it's protector and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausolæum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausolæum, and Agathocles the towers: but, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraven in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. **HIERO.** (*d*) After Gelon's death, the scepter continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother.

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have writ on this prince, some of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. (*e*) This young prince was avaricious, headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratification of his passions, without ever endeavouring

(*d*) A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472. (*e*) Diod. l. 21.
F. 51.

vouring to acquire the esteem and affection of the people ; who, on the other side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king ; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented from breaking out.

(f) Some time after he had ascended the throne, he had violent suspicions of Polyzelus his brother, whose great credit among the citizens made him fear that he had a design to depose him. However, in order to rid himself without noise of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was going to send to the succour of the Sibaritæ against the Crotoniensés, hoping that he would perish in the expedition. His brother's refusal to accept this command, made him the more violent against him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum ; however, they at last were reconciled by the wise mediation of (g) Simonides the poet ; and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister ; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

(b) At first, an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illnesses, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously ; after which he resolved to send for men of learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus ; and it is affirmed, that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the cruel and savage disposition of Hiero.

(i) Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shows an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without disguise or reserve.

The

(f) Diod. l. ii. p. 36. (g) Schol. in Pind. (b) Ælian. l. 4. c. 15. (i) In Aph. p. 175.

The poets abovementioned excelled, not only in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning, and considered and consulted as the sages of their times. This is what

* Cicero says particularly of Simonides. He had a great ascendancy over the king; and the only use he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

(k) They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of these conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince pressing him to give his reasons for these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alledged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, *viz.* the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the well-governing of a kingdom. He represents to him, that a king is not so for himself, but for others: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for his own residence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embellishing cities: that it is his glory, not that his people should fear, but be afraid for, him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympic games,

(for

(k) Cic. l. 1. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta solum doctus sapiensque traditur. suavis, verum etiam cæteroqui Lib. 1. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

(for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially * Hiero) but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who should succeed best in diffusing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheless, another poet (Pindar) praises Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. "This prince, (says he, in his ode) who governs with equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathered the fairest flower in the garden of virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite performances of poetry and music. He loves melodious airs, such as it is customary for us to play, at the banquets given us by our dearest friends. Rouze then thyself, take thy lyre, and raise it to the Doric pitch. If thou feelst thyself animated by a glorious fire in favour of † Pisa and Phœrenice; if they have waked the sweetest transports in thy breast, when that generous courser (without being quickened by the spur) flew along the banks of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious victory: O sing the king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympic course."

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Maffieu, is in the sixth volume of the memoirs of the academy of inscriptions of Belles-Lettres, from which I have made the final extract above. I was very glad to give the reader some idea of Pindar, by this little specimen.

The next ode to this was composed in honour of Theron king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is so sublime, the thoughts so noble, and the moral so pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's master-piece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the rest of the praises

* It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbid them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general. *Ælian*. l. 9. c. 5.

† Pisa was the city, near to which the Olympic games were solemnized: and Phœrenice, the name of Hiero's courser, signifying the victor.

praises which Pindar gives Hiero, for poets are not always very sincere in the elogiums they bestow on princes: however, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and sense; and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the elogium which * Horace gives the house of Mæcenas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless worth all their erudition. This amiable house, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and groveling sentiments of envy and jealousy; and men saw, in those who shared in the master's favour, a superior merit or credit, without taking the least umbrage at it. (1) But it was far otherwise in the court of Hiero or of Theron. It is said that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing them to ravens, who croak in vain against the divine bird of Jove. But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.

(m) Hiero, having drove the antient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a colony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This prompted the inhabitants of those two cities

(1) Scholiast. Pind.

(m) Diod. l. 11. p. 37.

* ——— Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam,
Ditior hic aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni-
Cuique suus.

Hor. lib. 1. Sat. 9.

That is,

Sir, you mistake, that's not our course of life,
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife;
From all those ills our patron's house is free,
None, 'cause more learn'd or wealthy, troubles me;
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c.

GREEK

to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demi-gods, because they considered him as their founder.

(n) He showed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, should have informed them of the perfect state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly (in perfect admiration) bestowed the highest encomiums on his prudence, integrity and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor preserving the sweets of ease to the splendor of authority, and persuaded at the same time, that it would be for the interest of the state if the young princes took the government into their own hands, he resolved to retire from business. Hiero died, after having reigned eleven years.

III. Diod. 1. 11. p. 51, 52. (o) He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms, vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with the utmost severity; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So severe a slavery grew soon insupportable to the Syracusans, and therefore they implored

(n) Diod. p. 50.

(o) Diod. 1. 11. p. 51, 52.

the succour of the neighbouring cities, whose interest it was also to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thrasylbulus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, viz. Acradina, and the island which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form themselves during three score years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

(o) After Sicily had been delivered from the government of tyrants, and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery, by the banishment of Thrasylbulus, it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation, that a colossal statue should be set up to Jupiter the deliverer; that on the anniversary of this day, a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty; and that there should be sacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people should be entertained as a common feast.

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. (p) To prevent the evil consequences of them, the

(o) A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. Diod. l. 11. p. 55.
(p) Ibid. p. 65.

the Syracusans established the Petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian Ostracism; and was so called from the Greek *πέταλον*, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgment was pronounced against such citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired at the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under it's censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by such citizens only as had the least merit.

(9) DEUCETIUS, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprizes. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by superior power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued in safety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so famous were the gods who presided over this temple, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a great many occasions, and gained several victories, particularly over the Syracusans; saw his fortune change on a sudden by the loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a
I 2
resolution

resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse; advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there, falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is, to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people by their speeches; and these animated them prodigiously against Deucetius, as a publick enemy, whom providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republick. A speech in this cast, struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most antient and wisest of the senators represented, “That they were not to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how it behoved the Syracusans to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, a character by which his person was become sacred and inviolable. That there was a goddess (Nemesis) who took vengeance of crimes, especially of cruelty and impiety, and who doubtless would not suffer that to go unpunished: That besides the baseness and inhumanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and in crushing those who are already under one’s foot; it was worthy the grandeur and goodness natural to the Syracusans, to exert their clemency even to those who least deserved it.” All the people came into this opinion, and, with one consent, spared Deucetius’s life. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the metropolis and foundress of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged to furnish Deucetius with all things necessary for his subsisting honourably there. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous?

SECT. II. *Of some famous persons and cities in Græcia Major. Pythagoras, Chæronidas, Zaleucus, Milo the Athletæ's Croton, Sybaris, and Thurium.*

I. PYTHAGORAS. **I**N treating of what relates to Græcia Major in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. (r) He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with the most excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government Polycrates had established in it, who however had the highest regard for him, and showed him all the esteem due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarce compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Croton, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. (s) Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, disposition, and principles.

* The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher. An inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffused themselves almost universally in a very short-time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their
I 3 courts,

(r) Diog. Laërt. in vit. Pythag. A. M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524. (s) Liv. l. 1. n. 18.

* Pythagoras, cum in licè, præstantissimis & institutis, & artibus, Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. l. 5. n. 10.
Italiam venisset, exornavit eam Græciam, quæ magna dicta est, & privatim & pub-

courts, which they thought honoured by his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than four or five hundred disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were probationers five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence; thinking it proper for them to be instructed, before they should attempt to speak. I shall take notice of his tenets and sentiments, when I come to speak of the various sects of philosophers; it was well known, that the transmigration of souls was one of the chief of them. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, he was immediately believed without it's being once examined; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, *(1) The master said it.* However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all enquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes*. A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all

(1) ὁ ματὴρ εἶπα.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam illam Græciam cum honore, & disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque secula

postea sic vixit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti viderentur. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 38.

all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. (u) The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, since the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome; the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the *Comitium*, representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. Historians are not exact with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. CROTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM. (x) Croton was founded by Myscellus, chief of the Achaians, the third year of the XVIIth olympiad. This Myscellus being come to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the same account. The god gave him a favourable audience; and after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Myscellus desired health; and, if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. (y) Myscellus laid the foundations of Croton, which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of it's inhabitants, that it's name was used proverbially, to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure. The people of it signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates, that in the same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

(z) Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred stadia) from Croton,

(u) Plin. l. 34. c. 6. (x) A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. Strab. l. 6. p. 262. & 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. p. 121. (y) Κρότωνος ἱγυῖς ἐστίν. (z) Strab. l. 6. p. 263. Athen. l. 12. p. 518—520.

Croton, and had also been founded by the Achæians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring states, and twenty-five cities were subject to it, so that it was, alone, able to raise an army of three hundred thousand men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shews, parties of pleasure, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in the dressing dishes, and invented new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, lest their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

(a) All these evils were heightened by dissension and discord, which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest in the city having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and, on the refusal of the Crotonians to deliver them up, (prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thousand men into the field, and the Crotonians only an hundred thousand; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, (of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak) over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a compleat victory, and made a dreadful havock of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About threescore years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the

the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter, moved to compassion at their deplorable condition, after raising proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to assist that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

(b) They built a city near the antient Sytaxis, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he was however considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony. I shall speak more largely of him hereafter.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion of the new inhabitants, whom the rest would exclude from all public employments and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they repulsed all the antient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the people of Croton, they soon grew vastly powerful; and having settled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by names of the different nations whence they sprung.

III. CHARONDAS, the legislator. They now bent their whole thoughts to the strengthening of their government by wholesome laws, for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's school, to digest and draw them up. I shall quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all public employments, all such as should marry a second wife, in case any children

(b) A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. Dionys. Halicarn. in vit. Lys. p. 82. Strab. l. 14. p. 656.

children by their first wife were living; being persuaded, that any man who was so regardless of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's, and be as worthless a magistrate, as he had been a father.

2. He sentenc'd all false accusers to be carried through every part of the city crown'd with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city thus deliver'd from those pests of society, was restor'd to it's former tranquillity. And indeed, * from calumniators generally arise all feuds and contests, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's observation, they are too much tolerat'd in most governments.

3. He enact'd a new kind of law against another species of pests, which in a state generally first occasions depravity of manners; by suffering all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence or contract a friendship with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He requir'd all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles Lettres; the effect of which is to polish and civilize the minds of men, inspiring them with gentleness of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a state, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors; in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He consider'd ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flow'd.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans which appears sufficiently judicious, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates to their paternal relations, it being the interest of these

* Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, satis coercitum, Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 30.
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to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards.

6. Instead of putting deserters to death, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days, in the city, dressed in the habit of women, imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would produce the same effect as putting to death; and being, at the same time, desirous of giving of such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. These were sentenced to appear in the public assembly with a halter about their necks; and, in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objected to him, in severe terms, that he violated his own laws; *I do not violate them,* says he, *but thus seal them with my blood;* saying which, he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

IV. ZALEUCUS, another lawgiver. (d) At the same time, there arose among the Locrians another famous legislator, Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's disciple. There is now scarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly persuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare casting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are sufficient to convince us, that it is impossible

so wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a sage conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; these being infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the sacrifices that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he describes the supreme being, as the source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive for our faithful observance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society, by enjoining the individuals of it not to make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, which would argue an unsocial and savage disposition; but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that, in pronouncing sentences, they ought never to suffer themselves to be byassed by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the least haughtiness or severity towards the parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inseparable from law-suits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious soever it may be, is far from giving them a right to use the contending parties with ill-nature; the very form and essence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions; and when they distribute this even with mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banish luxury from his republic, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow

the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for the restraining it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts, such as infringe the laws made on that occasion. But he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly stuffs, embroidered robes, precious stones, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and such like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. By these regulations he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy *. For no person was so abandoned to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; since this would make him the public laughing-stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. *Milo the champion.* We have seen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was still more renowned for his athletic strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed *Crotoniensis*, from Croton the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

(a) Pausanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, was seven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games; that he won six victories (at wrestling) in the Olympic games; one of which was also gained in his childhood; and that challenging a seventh time, (in Olympia) any person to wrestle

(c) Lib. 6. p. 369, 370.

* More inter veteres recepto, qui satis pœnarum adversus impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. Tacit. *Annal.* l. 2. c. 85.

wrestle with him, he could not engage, for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in such a manner, that without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no force could possibly wrest it from him. He would stand so firm on a * *discus*, which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to move him on those occasions. He would bind his head with a cord, after which, holding his breath strongly, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretcheth forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raised, the utmost strength of man could not separate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it. (f) One day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, (for he was one of his most constant disciples) the pillar which supported the ceiling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors time to get away, and afterwards he escaped himself.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the Athlete is almost incredible. (g) Milo's appetite was scarce satiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three † *congi* of wine every day. Athenæus relates, that this champion having run the whole length of the stadium, with a bull of four years old on his shoulders, he afterwards knocked him down with one stroke of his fist, and eat the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

We

(f) Strab. l. 6. p. 263. (g) Athen. l. 10. p. 412.

* This *discus* was a kind of *quoit*, flat and round.

† Thirty pounds, or fifteen quarts.

(b) We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling, and gazing upon his own arms, which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burst into tears and cried, *Alas! these arms are now dead.*

(i) And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself; the strong persuasion he entertained of his own strength, and which he preserved to the last, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But, after forcing out the wedges, his arms were caught in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed; so that being unable to disengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.

(k) An author has judiciously observed, that this surprisingly robust champion, who prided himself so much in his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtesan having gained so great an ascendant over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

CHAPTER III.

The war of Peloponnesus.

(l) **T**HE Peloponnesian war, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the first year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, and lasted twenty-seven years. Thucydides has writ the history of it to the 21st year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However, I shall not be so minute, and shall only extract such parts of it as appear most entertaining

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taining

(b) Cic. de Senect. n. 27.

(i) Pausan. l. 6. p. 370.

(k) Ælian, l. 2. c. 24.

(l) A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C.

431.

taining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

SECT. I. *The siege of Plataea by the Thebans. Alternate ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus. Honours paid to the Athenians, who fell in the first campaign.*

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

(m) **T**HE first act of hostility, by which the war began, was committed by the Thebans, who besieged Plataea, a city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them, about two hundred excepted that were taken prisoners, and who a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as news was brought of the action at Plataea, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broke, both sides prepared openly for war; and ambassadors were sent to all places, to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and Barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few states and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to them, but of all such as were apprehensive of becoming their dependants. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. The confederates of each of those states were as follows.

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(m) Thucyd. l. 2. p. 99—122. Diod. l. 12. p. 97—100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achæians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had also joined them; but the latter also engaged insensibly in that war. Out of Peloponnesus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plataea, the Messenians of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians, besides the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria that lies near it, Ionia, the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis and Potidæa excepted; all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward; and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Plataea, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two thirds of the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, and calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had done, or been eye-witnesses to, he exhorted them to support with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the issue of a war, which would determine it's fate, they were incessantly addressing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious: That, however, he could not deny, but that they were going to march against an enemy, who though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would doubtless be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the laying waste of their

territories * : That therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inspire the allies with new vigour. The whole army answered in the loudest acclamations of joy, and assured their generals that they would do their duty.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, still zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might best prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw, sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail, if possible, with the Athenians to lay aside their designs ; since otherwise an army would soon march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city : Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day ; and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that from that day great calamities would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entred this country, declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his (Pericles's) lands, either on account of the right of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies and those who envied him, with a handle to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he declared, that from that day he made over all his lands and houses to the city of Athens. He remonstrated to the Athenians, that it was their interest to consume the enemies troops, by protracting the war ; and that

* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni.
Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 31.

that for this purpose, they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, exclusive of those in garrison, amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy-armed soldiers; and sixteen thousand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and besides these, twelve hundred troopers, including the archers who rode on horseback, and sixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to awe the allies on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. However, they were deeply afflicted at this sad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. From the time the Persians left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now (sad fate of war!) they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of such confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and some withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at OEnoe, which is the first fortress towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raising the batteries; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus,

as if he carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was also charged with having been too dilatory in raising the army, and having desired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas, (they said) had he marched speedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and destroyed. His design, however, was, to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accommodation; and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. Having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the greatest towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would sally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was a great mortification to the Athenians, (haughty and imperious) to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses of the dreadful havock made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze. This sad spectacle was now so shocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out against the Lacedæmonians, be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expose their city to certain destruction, should they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of sixty thousand fighting men, composed of the choicest troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim, to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Pursuing inflexibly therefore the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but
how

how he might check the impatience and ardor of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people; lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition in his power. His friends used all the intreaties imaginable, to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him, by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to rouse him by songs and satires, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, insensible cast of mind, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man showed so much rancour against Pericles as * Cleon. He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering, and at the same time a specious voice; and besides he possessed, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and bringing them over to his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) should be given to each of the six thousand judges. The characteristics which more immediately distinguished him were, an insupportably-vain opinion of his own abilities, a ridiculous persuasion of his uncommon merit; and a boldness of speech, which he carried to so high a pitch of insolence as to spare no man. But none of these things could move Pericles †. His great strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging storm, who, after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or intreaties of those whom fear has distracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprize, followed those counsels which his prudence suggested,

* It is he whom Aristophanes has inveighed so much against, in several of his comedies.

† *Sperendis rumoribus vacillans.* Tacit.

gested, entirely regardless of the complaints, the taunts and licentious discourses of the citizens; from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. (a) It then appeared evidently, says Plutarch, that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far (at such a juncture as this) * as to keep them from sallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession; and fixed, on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and sword into their territories, they raised their camp, and, after making dreadful havock in the whole country through which they marched, they returned to Peloponnesus, and retired to their several homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in a quite different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflexion will show, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles, being invaded by all the forces of the East, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of Barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being succoured by his allies. This is the reason given by Cicero: *Fluctum enim totius Barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat*. It was therefore prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of Barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like
a judicious

(a) Plut. An Seni ger. sit. resp. p. 784.

* Διεκάλυσε, μονονὰ τὰ τῶν πωλῶν ἀποσφραγισάμην
ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔς τὰς κλειῖς 106.

a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens. (b) Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, to abandon Rome to Cæsar; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the worthiest of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, pursuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They also came to a resolution, to keep always a thousand talents in reserve*, and an hundred galleys; and never to use them, except the enemy should invade Attica by sea; at the same time making it death for any man to propose the employing them any other way.

The galleys which had been sent into Peloponnesus, made dreadful havock there, which consoled the Athenians, in some measure, for the losses they had sustained. One day as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entering his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun ensued, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This phenomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror; superstition, and the ignorance of natural causes, making them consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he saw: the pilot answering, that the cloak took away all objects from his sight; Pericles then gave him to understand, that a like cause, *viz.* the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing it's splendour.

(c) The first year of the war, of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized public funerals, according to ancient custom, (a practice truly humane

(b) Lib. 7. Epist. 11.

* Three millions.

(c) Thucyd. 1. 2. p. 122—130.

humane, and expressive of a just gratitude) in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign, a ceremony they observed during the whole course of that war. For this purpose they set up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceased citizens were exposed, and every person strewed flowers, incense, perfume, and things of the same kind upon those remains. They afterwards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypress wood, every tribe having it's particular coffin and chariot; but in one of the latter a large empty * coffin was carried in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with a grave, majestic, and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a public monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, those who lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalise their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the sepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us. Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the style, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the greatness of the sentiments which shine in every part of it.

(d) After having paid in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country; the public, who did not confine their

gratitude

(d) Thucyd. p. 130.

* These are called Cenotaphia,

gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their windows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful * incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for, great men are formed, where merit is best rewarded.

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was admitted a citizen of Athens. They also made an accommodation with Perdiccas king of Macedonia, by restoring him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECT. II. *The plague makes dreadful havoc in Attica.*

Pericles is divested of the command. The Lacedæmonians address the Persians for aid. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians. Pericles is restored to his employment. His death, and that of Anaxagoras.

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

(e) **I**N the beginning of the second campaign, the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague made a much greater devastation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Libya, and a great part of Persia; and at last broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himself was seized with that deadly disease, has described very minutely, the several circumstances and symptoms of it, in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever happen. (f) Hippocrates, who was employed

(e) A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430. Thucyd. l. 2. p. 130—147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171.

(f) Epidem. l. 3. §. 3.

* Ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κίται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ ἑ ἀνδρῶν ἀριστοὶ πολίτευουσι.

employed to visit the sick, has also described it in a medical, and Lucretius (*g*) in a poetical way. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that they were seen either piled one upon the other, (the dead, as well as those who were dying) or else crawling thro' the streets; or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity.

(*b*) The plague, before it spread into Attica, had made wild havock in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greatest physician of that or any other age, caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; setting no bounds to his rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shown to the Grecian physicians in Persia; and, indeed, was it possible that so useful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities were not capable to corrupt

(*g*) Lib. 2. c. 47.

(*b*) Hippocrat. in Epiſt.

corrupt him ; nor stifle the hatred and aversion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Persians, ever since the latter had invaded them. This great physician therefore sent no other answer but this, that he was free from either wants or desires : that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen ; and was under no obligation to Barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time ; commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment ; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders ; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent ; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen ; and that they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed himself entirely to his country. And indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick ; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country ; after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter ; that a crown of gold should be presented him, of the value of a thousand staters *, amounting to five hundred pistoles

L 2

French

* *The Attic stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original χρυσῶν χιλίων.*

French money ; and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald in the public games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa : That the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytaneum, all his life-time, in case he thought proper : In fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and advancing still forward, laid waste the whole country. Pericles still adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city : However, before the enemy left the plains, he sailed to Peloponnesus with an hundred galleys, in order to hasten their retreat by his making so powerful a diversion ; and after having made a dreadful havock, (as he had done the first year) he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, began to despond, and to murmur against Pericles ; considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They then sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them : however, the ambassadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afresh ; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people ; and endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to encourage them, by justifying himself. “ The rea-
sons,

" sons," says he, " which determined you to undertake this
 " war, and which you approved at that time, are still the
 " same; and are not changed by the alteration of circum-
 " stances, which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had
 " it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war,
 " the former would certainly have been the more eligible:
 " but as there was no other means for preserving your liberty,
 " but by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesi-
 " tate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, will
 " our private misfortunes make us neglect the common wel-
 " fare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts
 " him, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the good
 " which will result from it, because it is not come. Have you
 " forgot the strength and grandeur of your empire? Of the
 " two parts which from this globe of ours, *viz.* the land and sea,
 " you have absolute possession of the latter; and no king, or
 " any other power, is able to oppose your fleets. It is now your
 " duty to preserve this glory and this empire, or to resign it for
 " ever. Be not therefore grieved because you are deprived of a
 " few country-houses and gardens, which ought to be consider-
 " ed no otherwise than as the frame of the picture, though you
 " would seem to make them the picture itself. Consider, that
 " if you do but preserve your liberty, you will easily recover
 " them; but that should you suffer yourselves to be deprived of
 " this blessing, you will lose every valuable possession with it.
 " Don't show less generosity than your ancestors, who, for the
 " sake of preserving it, abandoned even their city; and who,
 " though they had not inherited such a glory from their ancest-
 " ors, yet suffered the worst of evils, and engaged in the most
 " perilous enterprizes, to transmit it to you. I will confess that
 " your present calamities are exceedingly grievous, and I my-
 " self am duly sensible and deeply afflicted for them. But is
 " it just in you to exclaim against your general, merely for an
 " accident that was not to be diverted by all the prudence of
 " man; and to make him responsible for an event, in which
 " he has not the least concern? We must submit patiently to
 " those evils which heaven inflicts upon us, and vigorously

" oppose such as arise from our fellow-creatures. As to the
 " hatred and jealousy which attend on your prosperity, they
 " are the usual lot of all who believe themselves worthy of
 " commanding. However, hatred and envy are not long-
 " liv'd, but the glory that accompanies exalted actions is im-
 " mortal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds, how
 " shameful and ignominious it is for men to bow the neck
 " to their enemies; and how glorious it is to triumph over
 " them; and then, animated by this double reflection,
 " march on to danger with joy and intrepidity, and do not
 " crouch so tamely in vain to the Lacedæmonians; and call
 " to mind, that those who display the greatest bravery and
 " resolution in dangers, acquire the most esteem and ap-
 " plause."

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of
 the great actions of their ancestors, the soothing title of sove-
 reigns of Greece; and above all, the jealousy of Sparta, the
 antient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives
 which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athe-
 nians, and had hitherto never failed of success. But on this
 occasion, the sense of the present evils prevailed over every
 other consideration, and stifled all other thoughts. The Athe-
 nians indeed did not design to sue the Lacedæmonians any more
 for peace, but the sight and presence only of Pericles was in-
 supportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the
 command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine,
 which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen ta-
 lents *, and, according to others, fifty.

However, this public disgrace of Pericles was not to be
 very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by this
 first effort, and had spent itself in this injurious treatment of
 him, as the bee leaves it's sting in the wound. But he was
 not now so happy with regard to his domestic evils; for, be-
 sides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations
 by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his
 family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, who himself was ex-
 tremely profuse, and had married a young wife no less extra-
 vagant,

* Fifteen or fifty thousand French crowns.

vagant, could not bear his father's exact œconomy, who allowed him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed in the most heinous terms against his father, exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the sophists. He did not know that a son, though treated unjustly, (which was far otherwise in his case) ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most wanted in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses; his strength of mind was not shaken by them; and he was not seen to weep or show the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. That rude stroke quite amazed him, though he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not show any outward symptoms of sorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead son, he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transports of his grief, which forc'd it's way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, misled by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakness that no way suited the greatness of soul he had ever shewn; and that on this occasion, the sensibility of the father, would fully the glory of the conqueror. Exceeding error, childish illusion, which either makes heroism consist in wild and savage cruelty; or leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, assumes a vain outside of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all humane sentiments, because he makes a considerable figure in the state?

Antoninus, the emperor had a much juster way of thinking, when, on occasion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, he said ** Suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy nor sovereignty renders us insensible.*

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, they soon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. By dint of suffering they began to bear patiently their domestic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardor for reinstating it's affairs, they did not know any person more capable than Pericles of the administration. Pericles, at that time, never stirred out of his house, and was in the utmost grief for the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends intreated him to go abroad, and show himself in public. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage of him; and Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and persuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the least resentment against his country, resumed the government.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmon, in order to solicit the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet: this reflected great ignominy on the Lacedæmonians, who called themselves the deliverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or sullied the glorious actions they had formerly atchieved in her defence against Persia. They went by the way of Thrace, in order to disengage, if possible, Sitalces from the alliance of the Athenians, and prevail with him to succour Potidæa. But they here met with some Athenian ambassadors, who caused them to be arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be sent

** Permitte illi ut homo sit: neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affec-* tus. *Jul. Capitol. in vit. Antonini Pii.*

sent to Athens, where without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death the same day; and their bodies thrown into the open fields, by way of reprisal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the same inhuman manner. It is scarce possible to conceive how two cities, which, a little before, were so strongly united, and ought to have shewn a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract so inveterate an hatred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations; and prompted them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with Barbarians.

Potidæa had now been besieged almost three years; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and in such want of provisions that some fed on human flesh, and not expecting any succours from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, surrendered on conditions. The circumstances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the severity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the besiegers; and the prodigious expence of the siege, which had already cost * two thousand talents †. They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one suit of cloaths, and the women two; and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; because otherwise, as the citizens were reduced to the utmost extremities, they would have surrendered at discretion. They sent a colony thither.

(a) The first thing Pericles did, after his being re-elected generalissimo, was to propose the abrogating of that law, which he himself had caused to be enacted against bastards, when

(a) A. M. 3575. Ant. J. C. 429.

* The army which besieged Potidæa consisted of three thousand men, exclusive of the sixteen hundred who had been sent under the command of Phormio. Every soldier received (daily) two drachms, or twenty pence (French) for master and man; and those of the gallees had the same pay. Thucyd. l. 3. p. 182, † Six millions.

when there were legitimate children. It declared, that such only should be considered as true and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. For the * king of Egypt having sent to Athens a present of forty thousand measures of corn to be distributed among the people, the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near five thousand of them were condemned and sold as slaves, whilst fourteen thousand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestic calamities of Pericles; so that they permitted him to enter his bastard, in his own name, in the register of the citizens of his tribe.

A little after he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him, discoursing together in his bed-chamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilst he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence; "I am surprized, says he, that you should treasure up so well in your memories, and extol so highly a series of actions, in which fortune had so great a share, and which are com-

" mon

* Plutarch does not name up arms against Artaxerxes, this king. Perhaps it was and to whom the Athenians, Inarus, son to Psammetichus above thirty years before, had king of Lybia, who had caused sent succours against the Per- part of the Egyptians to take fians. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 68.

"mon to me, with so many other generals; and at the same time should forget the most glorious circumstance in my life; I mean, *my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning.*" Excellent words! which very few in high stations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtless observed, from what has been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his great skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquests and victories; of the high-treasurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and address with which he transacted affairs; of a minister of state, by the methods he employed to increase trade, and promote the arts in general: in fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true scope and end of his administration.

But I must not omit another characteristic which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed (in his own favour) during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprizing circumstance is, he gained this great ascendant merely by persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a mean politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence, that the necessity of the public affairs, and reasons of state make them necessary.

(b) Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, that happened some time before, which must not be omitted. He says, that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to excessive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected, in his old age, by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him; * wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself. Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmost haste to the philosopher's house, in the deepest affliction. He conjured him, in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras but himself that was to be lamented, if he was so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels, with regard to the pressing occasions of the state. Anaxagoras then, uncovering a little his head, spoke thus to him: *Pericles, those who use a lamp take care to feed it with oil.* This was a gentle, and at the same time a strong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECT. III. *The Lacedæmonians besiege Plataea. Mitylenæ is taken by the Athenians. Plataea surrenders. The plague breaks out again in Athens.*

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) **T**HE most memorable transaction of the following years, was, the siege of Plataea by the Lacedæmonians.

(b) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162. (c) A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428. Thucyd. l. 2. p. 147—151. Diod. l. 22. p. 102—109.

* It was the custom for their cloaks, who were reduced to despair, and resolved to die.

monians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent to it, the Plataeans sent some deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to represent, that he could not attack them with the least shadow of justice, because that, after the famous battle of Plataeæ, Pausanias the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus answered, that their demand would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neuter, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Plataeans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witness, that he did not first infringe the alliance, and was not the cause of the calamities which might befall the Plataeans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions offered them,

prepared

prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on, in hopes that, as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with fascines, in order to support the terrafs on all sides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers repofing themselves, whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, they threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall, with the bricks they took from the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the wall of timber served in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires discharged against it. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall, in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put large paniers filled with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, because these could not be so easily carried off. The besieged therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to shelter themselves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without perceiving this, till at last they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they

they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the besieged judging that the superiority of numbers would at length prevail; without amusing themselves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, they contented themselves with building another, within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that the besieged might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced; and so oblige the enemy to make fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines (doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this) shook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however discourage them. They employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering rams, by ropes * which turned aside their strokes. They also employed another artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made fast by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, supported at due distance upon the wall in the nature of a ballance; so that whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the head of the battering ram, which quite deadened it's force, and consequently made it of no effect.

The besiegers finding the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever a strong wind should rise; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expence. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city, and the intrench-

M 2

* The end (downward) of caught the head of the batter- these ropes formed a variety of ing-ram; which they raised up slip-knots, with which they by the help of the machine.

ment with which they had surrounded them; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to set fire, at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made such a prodigious blaze, that the like was never seen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others: for the besieged could not make head at once against the fire and the enemy in several parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken: but history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, strengthened on each side with a deep fosse. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the rest, upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now, in Plataeæ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians; with an hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave; all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit, because of no importance.

(d) The next summer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymne excepted, resolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had designed to rebel before the war was declared; but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymne sent advice of this to the Athenians, assuring them, that if an immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The affliction of the

(d) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 174—207. Diod. l. 12. p. 108, 109.

the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the plague, was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were quite fresh, would now join the enemy, and reinforce them on a sudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore sent forty gallies designed for Peloponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, tho' in great consternation because they were quite unprepared, however put on an appearance of bravery, and sailed out of the port with their ships; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accommodation, which the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mitylenians sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmonia, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them an answer, which they had no reason to interpret in their favour.

The ambassadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I shall repeat their whole speech on that occasion, as it may serve at once to give a just idea of Thucydides's style, and of the several states with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are sensible, said the ambassadors, that it is the custom to use deserters well at first, "because of the service they do those whom they fly to; "but to despise them afterwards, as traitors to their country "and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they "have no inducement to such a change; when the same "union subsists, and the same aids reciprocally granted. But "it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians; and we "intreat you not to be prejudiced against us, because, after "having been treated mildly by the Athenians during the "peace, we now renounce their alliance when they are un-

“ fortunate. For, being come hither to demand admittance
“ into the number of your friends and allies, we ought to
“ begin our own justification, by shewing the justice and
“ necessity of our procedure ; it being impossible for a true
“ friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid
“ alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue,
“ and uniformity of principles and sentiments.

“ To come to the point : the treaty we concluded with
“ the Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it
“ from the yoke of the Barbarians ; and it was concluded
“ after the retreat of the Persians, when you renounced the
“ command. We adhered to it with pleasure, so long as
“ the Athenians continued to entertain just designs ; but,
“ when we saw that they discontinued the war they were
“ carrying on against the enemy, merely to oppress the allies,
“ we could not but suspect their conduct. And, as it was
“ extremely difficult, in so great a diversity of interests and
“ opinions, for all of them to continue in strict union ; and
“ still harder to make head against them, when alone and
“ separated ; they have subjected, by insensible degrees, all
“ the allies, except the inhabitants of Chios, and our people ;
“ and used our own forces for this end. For, at the same
“ time that they left us seemingly at our liberty, they obliged
“ us to follow them ; though we could no longer rely on
“ their words, and had the strongest reason to fear the like
“ treatment. And indeed, what probability is there, after
“ their enslaving all the other states, that they should shew
“ a regard to us only, and admit us upon the foot of equals,
“ if they may become our masters whenever they please ;
“ especially as their power increases daily, in proportion as
“ ours lessens ? A mutual fear between confederates, is a
“ strong motive to make an alliance lasting, and to prevent
“ unjust and violent attempts, by it's keeping all things in
“ an equilibrium. Their leaving us the enjoyment of our
“ liberties, was merely because they could not intrench upon
“ them by open force, but only by that equity and specious
“ moderation they have shewn us. First, they pretended to
“ prove

“ prove from their moderate conduct in regard to us, that,
 “ as we are free, we should not have marched in conjunction
 “ with them against the other allies, had they not given
 “ them just grounds for complaint. Secondly, by attacking
 “ the weakest first, and subduing them one after another,
 “ they enabled themselves, by their ruin, to subject the
 “ most powerful without difficulty, who at last would be
 “ left alone and without support ; whereas, had they begun
 “ by invading us, at the time that the allies were possessed
 “ of all their troops, and were able to make some stand,
 “ they could not so easily have completed their designs.
 “ Besides, as we had a large fleet, which would strengthen
 “ considerably whatever party we should declare for, this
 “ was a check upon them. Add to this, that the high
 “ regard we have always shewn for their republic, and the
 “ endeavours we have used to gain the favour of those who
 “ commanded it, have suspended our ruin. But we had
 “ been undone, had not this war broke out ; which the
 “ fate of others leaves no room to doubt.

“ What friendship then, what lasting alliance can be con-
 “ cluded with those, who never are friends and allies, but
 “ when force is employed to make them continue such ?
 “ For, as they were obliged to care for us during the war, to
 “ prevent our joining with the enemy ; we were constrained
 “ to treat them with the same regard in time of peace, to
 “ prevent their falling upon us. That which love produces in
 “ other places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this
 “ circumstance that made an alliance subsist some time,
 “ which both parties were determined to break upon the
 “ very first favourable occasion : let therefore no one accuse
 “ us for the advantage we now take. We had not always
 “ the same opportunity to save, as they had to ruin us ;
 “ but were under a necessity of waiting one, before we could
 “ venture to declare ourselves.

“ Such are the motives which now oblige us to solicit
 “ your alliance ; the equity and justice of which appear very
 “ strong to us, and consequently call upon us to provide for

“ our

“ our safety : We should have claimed your protection before,
“ had you been sooner inclined to afford it us ; for we offered
“ ourselves to you, even before the war broke out : We are
“ now come, at the persuasion of the Boeotians your allies,
“ to disengage ourselves from the oppressors of Greece, and
“ join our arms with it's defenders ; and to provide for the
“ security of our state, which is now in imminent danger.
“ If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is, our
“ declaring so precipitately, with more generosity than pru-
“ dence, and without having made the least preparations.
“ But this also ought to engage you to be the more ready
“ in succouring us ; that you may not lose the opportunity
“ of protecting the oppressed, and avenging yourselves on
“ your enemies. There never was a more favourable con-
“ juncture than that which now offers itself ; a conjuncture,
“ when war and pestilence have consumed their forces, and
“ exhausted their treasure : not to mention that their fleet
“ is divided, by which means they will not be in a condition
“ to resist you, should you invade them at the same time
“ by sea and land. For, they either will leave us to attack
“ you, and give us an opportunity of succouring you ; or
“ they will oppose us all together, and then you will have
“ but half their forces to deal with.

“ For the rest, let no one imagine that you will expose
“ yourselves to dangers for a people incapable of doing you
“ service. Our country indeed lies at a considerable distance
“ from you, but our aid is near at hand. For the war will be
“ carried on, not in Attica, as is supposed, but in that
“ country whose revenues are the support of Attica, and
“ we are not far from it. Consider also, that in abandoning
“ us, you will increase the power of the Athenians by the
“ addition of ours ; and that no state will then dare to take
“ up arms against them. But in succouring us, you will
“ strengthen yourselves with a fleet which you so much
“ want ; you will induce many other people, after our ex-
“ ample, to join you ; and you will take off the reproach
“ cast upon you, of abandoning those who have recourse to
“ you.

“ your protection, which will be no inconsiderable advantage to you during the course of the war.

“ We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter Olympius, in whose temple we now are, not to frustrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject suppliants, whose preservation may be highly advantageous, and whose ruin may be infinitely pernicious to you. Shew yourselves such now, as the idea entertained of your generosity, and the extreme danger to which we are reduced, may demand; that is, the protectors of the afflicted, and the deliverers of Greece.”

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. An incursion into the enemy's country was immediately resolved, and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulf of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. The Athenians were no less active on their side; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak; to undeceive the world, and shew that they alone were able to support a fleet without the aid of Lesbos, put to sea a fleet of an hundred sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a single citizen, except such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to five hundred measures of corn. After having shewed themselves before the isthmus of Corinth, the more to display their power, they made descents into whatever parts of Peloponnesus they pleased.

The world never saw a finer fleet. The Athenians guarded their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of an hundred ships: they cruised round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, without

without including their fleet before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty gallees. The expences of this powerful armament entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before, by that of the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprized at so formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmost expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty gallees to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of a thousand heavy-armed troops, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places; so that it was blocked up, both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were reduced to assess themselves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred * talents were sent to it.

(a) The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned, till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city. As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exasperated the people, because not preceded by any ill treatment, and it seemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the first transports of their rage, they resolved to put all the citizens to death indiscriminately, and to make all the women and children slaves; and immediately they sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But

(a) A. M. 3577. Ant. J. C. 427.

* Two hundred thousand crowns, about 45000 l. sterling.

But night gave them leisure to make different reflections. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than consisted with justice. They imaged to themselves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to slaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This sudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates, as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was unworthy a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe the rest of their allies, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his reflections more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds (he said) must necessarily be on the rack, whilst they were expecting a sentence that was to determine their fate; he represented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildness and clemency had always reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations: he observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their surrendering the city to them, the instant it was in their power to do it: they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors, and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, in punishing the innocent with the guilty. He observed farther, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble, in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed might not exasperate the rest of the allies; and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be, to
leave

leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into despair, by the absolute and irrevocable refusal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans, who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The assembly was very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with every thing that might accelerate it's course; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took sustenance, but eat and drank as they rowed, and took their rest alternately: and, very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The first galley had got a day and night's sail before them; but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. It's arrival before the city had spread the utmost consternation in every part of it; but it increased infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was read in a full assembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and loud laments. The moment that the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened; and the decree, which granted a pardon, was listened to with such a silence and joy, as is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mityleneans, though upwards of a thousand, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up; and the whole island, the city of Methymne excepted, was divided into three thousand parts or portions, three hundred of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the rest divided by lot, among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two * minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep

* The Attic mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

keep possession of the island, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subjected by the Athenians.

(b) During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Plataeæ, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way through the enemy: but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldness of the enterprize, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; but the rest (who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner.

Before I begin the description of their escape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I use certain expressions I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called *contravallation*; and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named *circumvallation*. Both these fortifications were used in this siege; however, for brevity sake, I shall use only the former term.

The contravallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen foot distance one from the other. The space between the two walls being a kind of platform or terrass, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around it at proper distances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themselves at the same time against attack from within or without. There was no going from one cazern to another without crossing those towers; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both sides, where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served in the nature of guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, on both sides

(b) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 185—188.

of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because as the wall stood but at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall undiscovered, through the darkness of the night; not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier; and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge.

When most of these were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to
quit

quit their posts. But a corps de reserve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the wall for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set; and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage, and keep off the besiegers. Then setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were hastening from the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the fossé on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the fossé to follow after the rest.

That instant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Platæans saw their enemies by this light, better than they were seen by them, they took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage: however, this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was froze over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them.

After all were passed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; because it was not likely that they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Imme-

diately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven * stadia, they turned short toward the mountain, and resumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the rest having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the fossé of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Plataeans who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed, (because those who were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were,) sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

(c) About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Plataeans being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered, upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried and adjudged in form of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon; and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war. The Plataeans were much surprized, as well as puzzled at this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium, and that of Plataeæ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason (they declared) of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of

(c) Thucyd. l. 3. p. 208—220. Diod. l. 12. p. 109.

* Upwards of a quarter of a league.

of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose : That if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. “ Cast your eyes, said they, on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead. You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery : And yet you will now give up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Platææ. Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered it's liberty ? Will you destroy the temples of those gods, to whom you owe the victory ? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety ? On this occasion, we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory ; and you cannot deliver up your antient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourselves.”

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians ; but they were byassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Platæans ; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They stood therefore to their first question, *Whether the Platæans had done them any service since the war* ; and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered, No, he was immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner ; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were made slaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platææ ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Platæans to their

animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

(d) In the sixth year of the war of Peloponnesus, the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again swept away great numbers.

SECT. IV. *The Athenians possess themselves of Pylus, and are afterwards besieged in it. The Spartans are shut up in the little island of Sphaacteria. Cleon makes himself master of it. Artaxerxes dies.*

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I Pass over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus: I likewise omit some sieges in different places: (e) That of Pylus, a little city of Messenia, only four * hundred furlongs from Lacedæmon, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians, headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it: this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover, if possible, that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by sea and land. Brachidas, one of their leaders, signalized himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphaacteria, whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, exclusive of the Helots. A battle was fought at sea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They surrounded the island; and set a guard in every

(d) A. M. 3578. Ant. J. C. 426. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 232. (e) A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 253—280. Diod. l. 12. p. 112—114.

* Twenty French leagues.

every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any provisions from being brought in to them.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magistrate thought the affair of the utmost importance, and therefore came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were in the island, and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they should surrender up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: That if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the * rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant; and that the whole should be done publicly, and in sight of both armies: That, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner: That in case this agreement should be infringed in the least, the truce would be broke; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and that then the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendering about threescore ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being

* For the masters, two Attic cheenices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat: with half this quantity for the servants.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were come to the Athenians to sue for that peace, which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant : That they now might acquire the glory of having restored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians consented to their being arbitrators in this treaty : That the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians : However, that their affairs were far from being desperate, and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two republicks, a firm and solid friendship ; because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either : That the gods frequently abandon those whom success makes proud, by shifting the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy : That they ought to consider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain ; and that the means to establish a lasting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms : For then, conquered by generosity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty, to observe his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The Athenians had now an happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great ascendant over the people, prevented it's taking effect. They therefore answered, by his advice, that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion ; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities, &c. which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty ; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies should be appointed, and that the Athenians should engage to ratify what they should conclude.

clude. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not transact with the people, but with particular men, whom they might easily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people, without advising with their allies; and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the present state of their affairs and disposition from prosperity.

As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased: But when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty carriage in success, and want of faith in the observation of treaties, never fail, at last, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a strict guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it, and hoped they should soon be able to starve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their interest by the views of gain, laying a heavy tax upon provisions, and giving such slaves their freedom as should run any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought, (at the hazard of men's lives) from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers, who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goats-skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want both of water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine,

were

were themselves almost starved ; it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter, on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners an opportunity of escaping. But the circumstance they chiefly dreaded was, lest the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace ; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would terminate in him. He therefore began by asserting, that it was all a false report, concerning the extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus were said to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island, pretending, that were they to exert the least bravery, they might soon take the island ; and that had he commanded, he would soon have taken it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition ; Nicias, who was before elected, resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill success which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprize, might lose him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly surprized as well as embarrassed ; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. However, he desired leave to waive the honour they offered him, for which he alledged several excuses ; But finding that the more he declined the command, the more they pressed him to accept it, he changed his note ; and supplying his want of courage with rodomontade, he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, those of the island prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, on hearing those words, set up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon

Cleon however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had held the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged their enemies rear; and promised, if they would give him but some troops armed with missive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance; and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected through fatigue and despair, they began to give way: but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes, finding that should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to desist; and caused proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon; and their commander desired leave might be granted him, to dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted

to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this, they held a conference; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the galleys.

In this battle an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island, (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprizing circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand.

Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms.

(f) In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he

said

(f) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 285, 286.

said, that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend in any manner what it was they requested : that in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian, to acquaint them, that if they had any proposal to make, they should send a person in whom they could confide along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed in what they desired. This ambassador, arriving at Eion, on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmost civility and respect ; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The year following, as soon as the season would permit the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ambassador back in one of their ships at the publick expence ; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead : when the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not advisable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE ANTIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

Sequel of the history of the Persians and Greeks, and of the Peloponnesian war, in the reigns of Xerxes II, of Sogdianus, and of Darius Nothus.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the thirteen years of the Peloponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusively.

SECT. I. *The very short reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus. They are succeeded by Darius Nothus. He puts a stop to the insurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He bestows on Cyrus, his youngest son, the supreme command of all Asia minor.*

(g) **A**RTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes, who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen his wife brought him.

(g) A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. Ctes. c. 47—91.
Diod. l. 12. p. 115.

him : but he had seventeen others by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Ctesias) Ochus, and Arsites. (b) Sogdianus in concert with Pharnacias, one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came insidiously, one festival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drank time to evaporate ; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days ; and was declared king in his stead.

He was scarce on the throne, but he put to death Bagorazus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to superintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the same day with her royal consort. After having deposited the two bodies in the mausolæum, where the kings of Persia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of some difference with him in the life-time of his father. But the new king did not stop here ; not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on some trifling circumstance relating to the obsequies of his father, and caused him to be stoned.

By these two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, so that he did not think himself safe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by such horrid murders. He suspected that his brothers harboured the like design ; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his suspicion. Accordingly he sent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered as soon as he arrived. However Ochus, who saw thro' his design, delayed coming upon various pretences ; which he continued till he advanced at the head of a strong army, which he openly declared he would employ, to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and several governors of the provinces,

O 2

they

they being justly dissatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill-conduct. They put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the slight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjust and barbarous in usurping it. Contrary to the advice of his best friends, and the wisest persons who still adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who getting him into his hands, caused him to be thrown into ashes, where he died a cruel death. (i) This was a kind of punishment peculiar to the Persians, and exercised only on great criminals. One of the largest towers was filled to a certain height with ashes. The criminal then was thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which, the ashes were by a wheel turned perpetually round him, till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and empire, which he enjoyed six months and fifteen days.

(k) Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now saw himself possessed of the empire. As soon as he was well settled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To distinguish him, historians add the epithet Νόθος, signifying bastard. He reigned nineteen years.

Artites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus, had supplanted Xerxes, and had himself been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to serve the latter in the same manner. Though he was his brother by the father's as well as mother's side, he openly revolted against him, and was assisted in it by Artypheus son of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we shall always call Darius, sent Artasyras, one of his generals, against Artypheus; and himself, at the head of another army, marched against Artites. Artypheus, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice the general sent against him. But engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himself was beat, and forced to surrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have

(i) Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. 2. Maccab. ch. xiii.

(k) A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

have had him put to death, but was diverted from that resolution by queen Parysatis, Darius's sister and queen. She also was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the same mother as Darius: she was an intriguing, artful woman, and the king her husband was governed by her on most occasions. The counsel she now gave was perfidious to the last degree. She advised him to exercise his clemency towards Artyphius, and show him kind usage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious servant with so much generosity, that he himself should meet, at least, with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he should have seized that prince, he might dispose of him and Artyphius as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel which proved successful. Arsites being informed of the gentle usage which Artyphius met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he should consequently meet with still more indulgent treatment; and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and surrendered himself. Darius was very much inclined to save his life: but Parysatis, by inculcating to him, that he ought to punish this rebel to secure himself, at last prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was suffocated in ashes with Artyphius. However, Darius had a violent struggle with himself, before he could give orders for this sacrifice; having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put some other persons to death, which executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them: for his reign was afterwards disturbed with such violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repose.

(1) One of the most dangerous commotions was occasioned by the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Persian empire, and make himself king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of succeeding in this attempt, was, his having raised a considerable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes

against

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(1) A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414. Ctes. c. 51.

against this rebel, and gave him, with a considerable army, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. Tissaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Pisuthnes; and by dint of presents and promises, brought over the troops with their general to his party. Pisuthnes, who, by this desertion, was unable to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was brought before the king, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and accordingly met with the same fate as the rest of the rebels. But his death did not put an end to all troubles; (m) for Amorges his son, with the remainder of his army, still opposed Tissaphernes; and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia minor, till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus, in Iasus, a city of Ionia, and and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.

(n) Darius was involved in fresh troubles by one of his eunuchs. This kind of officers had, for many years engrossed all power in the court of Persia; and we shall find by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it. (o) We may know their character, and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Dioclesian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freedmen, who had gained a like ascendant over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons", says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never shew things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him: and as they only besiege him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their canal, and does nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is, that he bestows employments on those

(m) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 554—568.

(n) Ctes. c. 52.

(o) Vopii, in vit. Aurelian. Imper.

" those he ought to exclude from them ; and, on the other
 " side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy
 " of filling them. In a word, the best prince is often sold
 " by these men, though he be ever so vigilant, and even
 " suspicious of them." *Quid multa ? Ut Diocletianus ipse
 dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.*

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs
 had usurped all power in it ; * an infallible mark that a go-
 vernment is bad, and the prince of little merit. But one of
 those three eunuchs, whose name was Artoxares, presided
 over, and govern'd the rest. He had found Darius's weak
 side, by which he insinuated himself into his confidence. He
 had studied all his passions, to know how to indulge them,
 and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him con-
 tinually in pleasures and amusements, to engross his whole au-
 thority to himself. In fine, under the name and protection
 of queen Parysatis, to whose will and pleasure he was the most
 devoted of slaves, he disposed of all the affairs of the empire,
 and nothing was transacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by
 the supreme authority which the favour of his sovereign gave
 him, he resolved to make himself king, instead of being prime
 minister ; and accordingly formed a design to get Darius out of
 the way, and afterwards ascend the throne. However, his
 plot being discovered, he was seized and delivered up to
 Parysatis, who put him to a most ignominious and cruel
 death.

(p) But the greatest misfortune which happened in Darius's
 reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This terrible blow
 fell out the same year with Pisuthnes's rebellion. But Darius
 could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. (q) The
 Egyptians, weary of the Persian government, flocked from
 all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at last was come out of
 the fens where he had defended himself, from the suppression
 of the revolt of Inarus. The Persians were drove out, and
 Amyrtæus

(p) Euseb. in Chron.

(q) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 72, 73.

* Scis præcipuum esse indicium non magni principis,
 magnos libertos. *Plin. ad Trajan.*

Amyrtæus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned six years.

After having established himself securely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Persians out of Egypt, he prepared to pursue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted measures with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Persia, he recalled the fleet which he had promised the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

Whilst Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To punish them for this revolt, their yoke (till then easy enough) was made heavier: a fate that rebellious subjects always experience, when the government, which they endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

(r) Darius's arms seem to have had the like success against the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned six years, (he possibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus observes, it was by the assistance of the Persians that Pausiris his son succeeded him in the throne. To effect this, they must either have been masters of Egypt, or their party the strongest in that kingdom.

(s) After having crushed the rebels in Media, and restored the affairs of Egypt to their former situation, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia minor: an important commission, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire.

I thought it necessary to anticipate times, and draw together the facts which relate to the kings of Persia; to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the history of the Greeks, to which I now return.

(r) Herod. l. 3. c. 15. (s) A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

SECT. II. *The Athenians make themselves masters of the island of Cythera. Expeditions of Brasidas into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. Thucydides the historian is banished. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.*

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the small island of Sphaacteria, were distinguished by very few considerable events.

(r) The Athenians under Nicias, took the little island of Cythera, situated on the coast of Lacedæmonia, near cap^t Malea, and from thence they infested the whole country.

(u) Brasidas, on the other side, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this expedition; imagining they should oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity, to rid themselves of the Helots, whom they expected to rise in rebellion, from the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thousand of them in a most horrid manner. Upon the specious pretence of rewarding merit even in slaves, but, in reality, to get rid of a body of men whose courage they dreaded, they caused proclamation to be made, that such of the Helots as had done the greatest service to the state in the last campaigns, should enter their names in the public registers, in order for their being made free. Accordingly two thousand gave in their names. They were carried in procession through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be set at liberty. After this ceremony, they all disappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an instance, in what manner an umbrageous policy,

and

(t) A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 286.

(u) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 304—311. Diod. l. 12. p. 117, 118.

and power, when filled with jealousy and distrust, excite men to the commission of the blackest crimes, without scrupling to make even religion itself, and the authority of the gods, subservient to their dark designs.

They therefore sent seven hundred Helots with Brasidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprize. This general brought over several cities, either by force or intelligence, and still more by his wisdom and moderation. The chief of these were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. (u) He also marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately dispatched a messenger to † Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thasus, a little island of the Ægean sea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He instantly set sail with seven ships that were near him, to secure the place before Brasidas could seize it; or, at worst, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Brasidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great credit in all that country, where he was possessed of some gold-mines, made all the dispatch imaginable, to get thither before him; and offered such advantageous conditions to the besieged, who did not expect succours so soon, that they surrendered. Thucydides arrived the same evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Brasidas would have taken possession of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable dispatch, the Athenians however charged him with being the cause of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly banished him.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loss of that city, as well because they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ships, as because it was a kind of gate for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; especially as Brasidas discovered great moderation and justice, and continually gave out, that he came with no other view but to free the country.

(u) Ibid. p. 320—324.

† The same who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war.

country. He declared to the several nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath in presence of the magistrates, to leave all those the enjoyment of their liberties, who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be considered as the most abandoned of men, should he employ oaths to ensnare their credulity. "For," according to Brasidas, "a fraud cloaked with a specious pretence, reflects infinitely greater dishonour on persons in high stations, than open violence; because the latter is the effect of the power which fortune has put into our hands; and the former is founded wholly on perfidy, which is the pest of society. Now I," said he, "should do a great disservice to my country, besides dishonouring it eternally, if, by procuring it some slight advantages, I should ruin the reputation it enjoys of being just and faithful to it's promises; which renders it much more powerful than all it's forces united together, because it acquires it the esteem and confidence of other states." Upon such noble and equitable principles as these, Brasidas always formed his conduct; believing, that the strongest bulwark of a nation is justice, moderation, integrity; and the firm persuasion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are not so base as to harbour a design to usurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemy's allies.

(x) The Athenians, under the command of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Bœotia, expecting that several cities would join them, the moment they should appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A considerable engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. (y) Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following testimony of him in Plato; that had the rest of the army behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians

(x) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 311—319. (y) Plat. in Lach. p. 181. In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

Athenians would not have sustained so great a loss before Delium. He was borne away by the crouds who fled, and was on foot; Alcibiades, who was on horseback, when he saw him, rode up to him, and did not stir from him, but defended him with the utmost bravery from the enemy who were pursuing him.

After the battle, the victors besieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they used one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, so that it's shape resembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, to which a cauldron hung; so that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimstone, that lay in the cauldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lined with stakes and fascines, threw out so great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the palisades burnt, the city was easily taken.

SECT. III. *A twelve-month's truce is agreed upon between the two states. Cleon and Brasidas die. A treaty of peace for fifty years, concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.*

NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(*) THE losses and advantages on both sides were pretty equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce, for a year, was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former resolved on it, in order to check the progress of Brasidas's conquests; to secure their cities and fortresses;

(*) Thucyd. l. 4. p. 328—333. Diod. l. 12. p. 120. A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

fortresses; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in case they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that by the sweets of repose, peace might become desirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands such of their citizens as the Athenians had taken prisoners in the island of Sphaacteria; and which they could never expect to do, if Brasidas extended his conquests farther. The news of this accommodation sensibly afflicted Brasidas, as it stopped him in the midst of his career, and disconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himself to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He went still farther; and did not scruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that surrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: but Brasidas pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be supposed, that they were far from being pleased with this conduct of Brasidas. Cleon, in all public assemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. (a) His great success in the expedition of Sphaacteria had raised his credit infinitely with the people: he now was grown insupportably proud, and his audaciousness was not to be restrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not so much by the strength of his arguments, as by the boldness and fire of his style and utterance. It was Cleon who first set the example of bawling in assemblies, where the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms; of striking his thigh; and of running up and down the rostra whilst he was making his speech. In a word, he first introduced among the orators, and all those who were in public employments, an ungovernable licentiousness, and

a con-

(a) Plut. in vit. Nicias, p. 528.

a contempt of decency ; a licentiousness and contempt, which soon introduced terrible irregularities and confusion in public affairs.

(b) Thus two men, each on his own side, opposed the tranquillity of Greece, and raised, but in a very different way, an invincible obstacle to it's peace. These were Cleon and Brasidas. The former, because the war screened his vices and malversations ; and the latter, because it added a new lustre to his virtues. And indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppressions, and Brasidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the same time, made way for a new accommodation.

(c) The Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the troops which were to oppose Brasidas, and reduce those cities that had revolted from their allegiance. The Athenians were solicitous for none of them so much as Amphipolis ; and Brasidas threw himself into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomantes, to furnish him with as many troops as possible, and with the utmost expedition. He waited for them, and had resolved not to march immediately towards the enemy : but finding his soldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing so long unactive, and begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Brasidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs ; and imagining himself a great captain by his taking Sphacteria, he now fancied the same good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he said, to take a view of the place, and till such time as all his forces should be come up ; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city, or that he doubted in any manner his success, (for he was persuaded that no one would dare to oppose

(b) Plut. in vit. Niciæ, p. 528. (c) A. M. 3582. Ant. J. C. 422. Thucyd. l. 3. p. 342, 351. Diod. l. 12. p. 121, 122.

oppose him,) but only to enable him to invest the place on all sides, and afterwards to take it by storm. Accordingly he incamped before Amphipolis; when viewing very leisurely it's situation, he fondly supposed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleased, without drawing the sword; for not a man came out, or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept shut, so that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only these to make himself master of the city. Brasidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's disposition and character, studiously affected an air of fear and reserve, to increase his temerity, and the good opinion he had of himself: besides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces, and the choicest troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accordingly Cleon, despising an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but shut himself up in a cowardly manner in the city, went boldly from place to place, without precaution, or observing any discipline among his soldiers. Brasidas, whose intention was to attack him on a sudden before all his forces should be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper measures, and given the orders necessary. Accordingly he made a sudden sally on the Athenians, which surprized and disconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Brasidas then turned the whole force of his arms against the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and disabled, upon which his soldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having resolved to fight, he fled, and was killed by a soldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themselves for some time, and sustained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at last they were universally broke and routed. Brasidas was then carried into the city, where he survived his victory but a few moments.

The whole army being returned from the pursuit, stripped the dead, and afterwards set up a trophy. After which all the allies under arms solemnized the funeral obsequies of Brasidas in a public manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and sacrifices. They considered him as their founder; and to secure this title the better to him, they demolished all the monuments of him * who had really been so; so that they might not appear to owe their establishment to an Athenian, and at the same time make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their security. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the consent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians settled the affairs of Amphipolis.

(d) A saying is ascribed to the mother of Brasidas, which strongly intimates the Spartan character. As some persons were applauding, in her presence, the fine qualities and exalted actions of her son, and declared him superior to all other generals: *You are mistaken, says she, my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than him.* A mother's generosity, in thus preferring the glory of the state to that of her son, was admired, and did not go unrewarded; for the Ephori paid her public honours.

(e) After this last engagement, in which the two persons, who were the greatest obstacles to the peace lost their lives, both nations seemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was suspended in a manner on both sides. The Athenians, from the loss of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtiness, were undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own strength, that had made them refuse the advantageous offers of their enemies. Besides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who, being discouraged by their losses, might thereby be induced

to

(d) Diod. p. 122. (e) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 351—354.

* Agnon the Athenian.

to abandon them, as several had already done. These reflections made them strongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, no longer flattered themselves with the hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waste their country; and were besides dejected and terrified by their loss in the island, the greatest they had ever sustained. They also considered, that their country was depopulated by the garrison of Pylus and Cythera; that their slaves deserted; that they had reason to dread a more considerable revolt; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reason to be apprehensive of being abandoned by some of their allies of Peloponnesus, as they accordingly were. These several motives, enforced by the desire they had of recovering the prisoners, the greatest part of whom were the most considerable citizens of Sparta, made them desire a peace.

Those who were most solicitous for having it concluded, and whose interest it was chiefly to wish it, were the chiefs of the two states, *viz.* Plistonax king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from banishment, to which he had been sentenced, on account of his being suspected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was ascribed several misfortunes which followed after it. He also was charged with having corrupted by gifts the priestess of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recal him from his exile. Plistonax was therefore desirous of peace, in order to put an end to the reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the most fortunate general of his age, he was afraid lest some unhappy accident should eclipse his glory; and he wished to enjoy the fruits of peace in ease and tranquillity, and that his country might possess the same happiness.

(f) Both states began by agreeing to a suspension of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure of corresponding with their friends, and with foreigners, they grew passionately desirous of leading an easy, undisturbed life, remote from the alarms of war, and the horrors of blood and slaughter. They heard with the utmost demonstrations of joy the chorus's of their tragedies sing, *May spiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and shields!* And they remembered with pleasure him who said, *Those who sleep in the arms of peace, do not start from it at the sound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their slumbers, but the peaceful crowing of the cock.*

(g) The whole winter was spent in conferences and interviews, in which each party proposed their rights and pretensions. (h) At last, a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years, one of the chief articles of which was, that they should reciprocally restore the prisoners on each side. This treaty was concluded ten years and some days from the first declaration of the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly disgusted at it, and for that reason used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. (i) But Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the last hand to this peace, by concluding an alliance offensive and defensive, which would render them more formidable to those who should desire to break with them, and more assured with regard to each other. The Athenians, in consequence of this treaty, at last restored the prisoners they had taken in the island of Sphacteria.

(f) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 528, 529.

(g) Diod. l. 13. p. 122. (h) A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 421.

(i) Thucyd. l. 5. p. 358, 359.

SECT. IV. *Alcibiades begins to appear. His character. He opposes Nicias in every thing, and breaks the treaty he had concluded. The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(A) **A**LCIBIADES began now to advance himself in the state, and appear in the public assemblies. Socrates had attached himself to him for many years, and adorned his mind with a great variety of the noblest erudition.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his life. This philosopher observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate. And indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty; and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy; those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully sensible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and

(A) Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

could not resist the charms of his sweetly-insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions and even his reprimands with wonderful docility, and would be so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears and abhor himself; so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so ugly and odious a light did he expose the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the discourses and advice of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his master; who was obliged to run after him as after a slave who had escaped. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disgusted by his levity, and always flattered himself with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil, that always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him, sometimes prevailing; and at other times, the fire of his passions hurrying him in a manner against his own will, into things of a quite opposite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not pass uncensured. But some persons * of great learning pretend, that these censures and suspicions, when duly examined, quite disappear; and that they ought to be considered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both.

Plato,

* *Abbé Fraguier justifies* *demey of Belles Lettres, Tom.*
Socrates in one of his differ- *4. p. 372.*
tations, Mem. of the Aca-

Plato, in one his dialogues, gives us a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, by which the genius and character of the latter may be known, who henceforward will have a very great share in the affairs of the republic of Athens. I shall make a very short extract from it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

(1) In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced conversing with Alcibiades, who at that time was under the guardianship of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the rest of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on instruments, and had practised wrestling and other bodily exercises. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greatest men) since he had put him under the tutorage of Zopyrus, a Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's slaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the least qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that should he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmonia, who displayed a spirit of valour, a greatness of soul, a strong desire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentleness, modesty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and discipline of Sparta, he would seem a mere child to them. Nevertheless, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian; all these things had conspired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of esteem for himself, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and promised himself no less than to eclipse entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Persia, even upon his throne. Socrates seeing him going to mount the rostra, in order to give the people some advice relating to the public affairs, demonstrates to him, by various questions, and by Alcibiades's answers, that he is quite ignorant

(1) Plut. in Alcib. I.

ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to speak, as he had never studied them himself, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confess this, he paints, in the strongest colours, the absurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully sensible of it. What, says Socrates, would Amestris (the mother of Artaxerxes who then reigned in Persia) say, were she to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war against her son, and even intends to dethrone him? She doubtless would suppose him to be some veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wisdom, and the most consummate experience; that he is able to raise a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleases; and, at the same time, that he has long before taken the proper measures for putting so vast a design in execution. But were she to hear that there are none of these circumstances, and that the person in question is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of public affairs; has not the least knowledge of war, and no credit with the citizens or the allies; would it be possible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of such an enterprize? This nevertheless, says Socrates (directing himself to Alcibiades) is your picture; and unhappily resembles most of those who thrust themselves into the public employments. Socrates however excepts Pericles on this occasion; his solid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his close study, during a long course of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for public employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his case; he was ashamed of his conduct, and blushing to see himself so void of merit, he asks how he must act for the attainment of it. Socrates, being unwilling to discourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is so young, these evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wisest counsels. He had entire leisure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years passed between this conversation, and his engaging in public affairs.

Alcibiades

Alcibiades was of a convertible genius, that would take any impression which the difference of times and circumstances might require, still veering either to good or evil, with the same facility and ardour; and shifting almost in an instant from one extreme to it's opposite, so that people applied to him what Homer observes of the land of Egypt, *That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and at the same time as many poisons.* (m) It might be said of Alcibiades, that he was not one single man, but (if so bold an expression might be used) a compound of several men; either serious or gay; austere or affable; an imperious master, or a groveling slave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of supporting the most painful fatigues and toils, or insatiably desirous of voluptuous delights.

(n) His irregularities and dissolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a stop to these reports, but without changing his course of life, as appears from a saying of his. He had a very handsome dog, of a prodigious size, which had cost him threescore and ten minæ, * or three thousand five hundred French livres. By this we find that a fondness for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades caused his tail, which was the greatest beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends censured him very much on that account, and said, that the whole city blamed him very much for spoiling the beauty of so handsome a creature, *This is the very thing I want*, replied Alcibiades with a smile, *I would have the Athenians discourse about what I have done to my dog, that they may not entertain themselves with saying worse things of me.*

Among

(m) *Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos. Juvenal.*

(n) Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

* About 160 l. sterling. drachma ten pence, French The Attic mina was worth money. an hundred drachmas, and the

(o) Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic; there was nothing however to which he was so fond of, owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations. To this his intimacy with Socrates might be of great service.

(p) Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have here described, was not born for repose, and had set every engine at work to traverse the treaty lately concluded between the two states; but not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent it's taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them.

The first thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed, that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared; he flattered them secretly with the hopes that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them, that they were ready to break a peace, which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to observe the several conditions of it religiously, having concluded an alliance with the Bæotians, in direct opposition to the design and tenor of the treaty; and having surrendered up the fort of Panacton to the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they

(o) Τὸ φιλότιμον, καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον, Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.
 (p) A. M. 3584. Ant. J. C. 420. Thucyd. l. 5. p. 368—378, Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

they had stipulated to do, but quite dismantled. Alcibiades observing the Athenians to be extremely exasperated at this breach of faith, did his utmost to widen the difference; and taking this opportunity to embarrass Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by causing them to entertain a suspicion of his being too strongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were absolutely false.

This new attack quite disconcerted Nicias; but happily for him there arrived, at that very instant, ambassadors from Lacedæmonia, who were invested with full powers to put an end to all the divisions. Being introduced into the council or senate, they set forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would succeed with them, used his utmost endeavours to engage the ambassadors in a conference with him. He represented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmost moderation and humanity towards those who addressed them; but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions; that should the ambassadors mention full powers, they (the people) would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take into their heads to ask. He concluded with assuring them, that he would assist them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus restored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed: and he confirmed all these promises with an oath. The ambassadors were extremely well pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vast abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, indeed, they were not mistaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being assembled, the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in the mildest terms,

terms, the subject of their embassy, and the purport of the powers with which they were invested. They immediately answered, that they were come to propose an accommodation, but were not impowered to conclude any thing. These words were no sooner spoke, but Alcibiades exclaims against them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witness to the speech they had made the night before; and desires the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently advanced falsehoods, and spoke and prevaricated so unaccountably, as to say one thing one day, and the very reverse the next.

Words could never express the surprize and confusion with which the the ambassadors were seized, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous stratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpose to find out the reason of it. The people were that moment going to send for the ambassadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them; when a great earthquake came to the assistance of Nicias, and broke up the assembly. It was with the utmost difficulty he prevailed so far, in that of next day, as to have a stop put to the proceedings, till such time as ambassadors should be sent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the least good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his persuasion, the prisoners they had taken in the island, and who were related to the greatest families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exasperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any excesses against him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Mantinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives were included, and sent troops to Pylus, to lay waste Laconia. In this manner they again involved themselves in the war, which they were so lately desirous of avoiding.

D. Nothus.] PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 171

(a) Plutarch, after relating the intrigue of Alcibiades, adds : " No one can approve the methods he employed to succeed in his design ; however, it was a master-stroke, " to disunite and shake almost every part of Peloponnesus " in this manner, and raise up, in one day, so many enemies against the Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too soft a censure of so knavish and perfidious an action, which, how successful soever it might have been, was notwithstanding horrid in itself, and of a nature never to be sufficiently detested.

(b) There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become insensible to infamy, by renouncing all sentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a soul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one ; and yet the people made use of him to humble those in high stations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engrossed at that time all authority in Athens. The dissolute life of the latter shocked the Athenians, who besides dreaded his audacity and haughtiness. On the other side, Nicias, by always opposing, without the least reserve, their unjust desires ; and by obliging them to take the most useful measures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagined, that as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the ostracism in force against one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one, which consisted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were desirous of peace ; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was his impudence, in hopes of succeeding, which soever of them should be removed, declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However,

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(a) In Alcib. p. 198.
197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

(b) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196,

the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himself was banished by (and put an end to) the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, in being employed against a man of so base a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant, had been the first.

SECT. V. *Alcibiades engages the Athenians in the war of Sicily.*

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) I Pass over several inconsiderable events, to hasten to the relation of that of the greatest importance, the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were especially excited by Alcibiades. This is the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

(d) Alcibiades had gained a surprizing ascendant over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were united with still greater vices, which he did not take the least pains to conceal. He passed his life in such an excess of luxury and voluptuousness, as was a scandal to that city. Nothing was seen in his house but festivals, rejoicings, and parties of pleasure and debauchery. He shewed very little regard to the customs of his country, and less to religion and the gods. All persons of sense and judgment, besides the strong aversion they had for his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the consequences of his audacity, profusion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they considered as so many steps by which Alcibiades would rise to tyrannical power.

Aristophanes,

(c) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 350—409. A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416.
(d) Plut. in Alcib. p. 198—200. In Nic. p. 531.

D. Nothus.] PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 173

Aristophanes, in one of his comedies *, shows admirably well, in a single verse, the disposition of the people with regard to him ; *They hate Alcibiades*, says he, *and yet cannot do without him*. And indeed, the prodigious sums he squandered on the people ; the pompous games and shows he exhibited to please them ; the magnificent and almost incredible presents which he made the city ; the grace and beauty of his whole person ; his eloquence, his bodily strength, joined to his courage and experience ; in a word, this assemblage of great qualities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to lessen and screen them under soft and favourable names ; for they called them sports, polite pastimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon the man-hater, morose and savage as he was, formed a better judgment of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the assembly, vastly pleased at his having been gratified in all his demands, and to see the greatest honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crowds to his house ; so far from shunning him as he did all other men, on the contrary he ran to meet him, and stretching out his hand to him in a friendly way ; *Courage, my son*, says he, *thou dost right in pushing thy fortune, for thy advancement will be the ruin of all these people*. The war of Sicily will show that Timon was not mistaken,

The Athenians, from the time of Pericles, had meditated the conquest of Sicily. However, that wise guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He used frequently to inculcate to them, that by living in peace, by supporting their fleet, by contenting themselves with the conquests they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition, and be always superior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, could not suppress the desire they

had

* *The Frogs*, Act 5. Scene 4.

(c) Died l. 12. p. 99.

had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that island. (c) Some time after Pericles's death, the Leontines being invaded by the Syracusans, had sent a deputation to Athens, to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgias, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent man of his times. His elegant and florid diction, heightened by shining figures which he first employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiously affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they sent ships to Rhegium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they sent a greater number. Two years after they sent a new fleet, something stronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their divisions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, sent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, into banishment; and sentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their prosperity having blinded them to so prodigious a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. They made several attempts afterwards, and, upon pretence of sending from time to time arms and soldiers to such cities as were unjustly treated or oppressed by the Syracusans, they by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the person who most inflamed this ardour was Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with splendid hopes, with which he himself was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, subduing Africa, crossing from thence into Italy, and possessing himself of all Peloponnesus; looking upon Sicily not as the scope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the first step of the exploits he revolved in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and without enquiring seriously into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topic of all conversations. The young

(c) Diod. l. 12. p. 99.

young men, in the places where the public exercises were performed, and the old men in their shops and elsewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily ; in discoursing on the nature and quality of the sea with which it is surrounded ; on it's good harbours, and flat shores towards Africa : For these people, infatuated by the speeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) persuaded that they should make Sicily only their place of arms and their arsenal, from whence they should set out for the conquest of Carthage, and make themselves masters of all Africa and the sea, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

(f) It is related that neither Socrates nor Methon the astronomer believed that this enterprize would be successful ; the former, being inspired, as he insinuated, by his familiar spirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened ; and the other, directed by his reason and good sense, which, pointing out what he had to apprehend in respect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occasion ; and to demand, in consideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his son, and would dispense with his carrying arms.

SECT. VI. *Account of the several people who inhabited Sicily.*

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily, it will not be improper to give a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it : Thucydides begins in the same manner.

(g) It was first inhabited by the Lestrygonæ and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The most antient, after these, were the Sicani, who called themselves the original inhabitants of this country, tho' they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Sicanus,

(f) Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

(g) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 410—413.

Sicanus, whose name they gave to the island, which before was called Trinacria : these people were afterwards confined to the western part of the island. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and settled near them, and built Erix and * Egesta, who all assumed the named of Elymæi ; and were afterwards joined by some inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the siege of Troy. Those who are properly called Sicilians, came from Italy in very great numbers ; and having gained a considerable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their island, about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks ; and in Thucydides's time, they still inhabited the middle part of the island and the northern coast. From them the island was called Sicily. The Phœnicians also spread themselves along the coast, and in the little islands which border upon it, for the convenience of trade : but after the Greeks began to settle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the rest. It was in this manner the Barbarians first settled in Sicily.

(b) With regard to the Greeks the first of them who crossed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after, which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassæus, was the third of the XVIIth Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catana, after having drove out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks who came from Megara a city of Achaia, about the same time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or barely Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whose permission they settled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the antients. An hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the same name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuse,

(b) A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

* It is called *Segesta* by the Romans.

Syracuse, founded Agrigentum about an hundred and eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Messina or Messene by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was of Messene a city of Peloponnesus, had several founders, and at different periods. The Zancleans built the city of Himera; the Syracusans built Acre, Casmene, and Camarina. These are most of the nations whether Greeks or Barbarians, who settled in Sicily.

SECT. VII. *The people of Egesta implore aid of the Athenians. Nicias opposes, but to no purpose, the war of Sicily. Alcibiades carries that point. They both are appointed generals with Lamachus.*

(i) **A**THERNS was in the disposition above related, when ambassadors were sent from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinunta, who were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They represented, among other things, that should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing their city as they had done that of Leontium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponnesians who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as possible, they offered to pay the troops that should be sent to succour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themselves, sent deputies to Egesta to enquire into the state of affairs, and to see whether there was money enough in the treasury to defray the expence of so great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been so artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and silver vases, worth an immense sum of money; and of these they made a show when the Athenians arrived. (k) The deputies returned with those of Egesta, who carried threescore talents in ingots, as a month's pay

(i) A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 413—415. Diod. l. 12. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In Nic. p. 531. (k) A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415.

pay for the gallies which they demanded; and a promise of larger sums, which, they said, were ready both in the public treasury and in the temples. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves the leisure to examine; and seduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made, in the view of pleasing them; immediately granted the Egestans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet; with full power, not only to succour Egesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city; but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, besides other motives which made him dread that command, he shunned it because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war, should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldness and wisdom of Nicias.

(1) Five days after, to hasten the execution of the decree, and make the necessary preparations, a second assembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair proposed, and was still better convinced of the difficulties and dangers which would ensue from it; thought himself obliged, to speak with some vehemence against a project, the consequences of which he foresaw might be very fatal to the republic. He said, "That it was surprizing so important an affair should have been determined, the moment almost it was taken into deliberation: That without once enquiring into matters, they had given credit to whatever was told them by foreigners, who were very lavish of their promises; and whose interest it was to offer mighty things, in order to extricate themselves from their imminent danger. After all, what advantage (says he) can accrue from thence to the republic? Have we so few enemies at our doors, that we need go in search of others at a distance from

(1) Thucyd. 1, 6, p. 415—428.

" from us ? Will you act wisely, to hazard your present
 " possessions, on the vain hopes of an uncertain advantage ?
 " To meditate new conquests, before you have secured your
 " antient ones ? To study nothing but the aggrandizing of
 " your state, and quite neglect your own safety ? Can you
 " depend in any manner on a truce, which you yourselves
 " know is very precarious ; which you are sensible has been
 " infringed more than once ; and which the least defeat on
 " our side may suddenly change into an open war ? You are
 " not ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always been,
 " and still continue, disposed with regard to us. They detest
 " our government as different from theirs ; it is with grief
 " and disdain they see us possessed of the empire of Greece ;
 " they consider our glory as their shame and confusion ; and
 " there is nothing they would not attempt, to humble a
 " power which excites their jealousy, and keeps them perpetually
 " in fear. These are our real enemies, and it is they
 " we ought to guard against. Will it be a proper time to
 " make these reflections, when (after having divided our
 " troops, and our arms will be employed elsewhere, and unable
 " to resist them,) we shall be attacked at once by all the
 " forces of Peloponnesus ? We do but just begin to breathe,
 " after the calamities in which war and the plague had plunged
 " us ; and we are now going to plunge ourselves into
 " greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our arms
 " into distant countries, would it not be more expedient to
 " march and reduce the rebels of Thrace, and other nations
 " who are still wavering, and unfixed in their allegiance,
 " than to fly to the succour of the inhabitants of Egesta,
 " about whose welfare we ought to be very indifferent ? And
 " will it suit our interest, to attempt to revenge their injuries,
 " at a time that we do not discover the least resentment
 " for those we ourselves receive ? Let us leave the
 " Sicilians to themselves, and not engage in their quarrels,
 " which it is their business to decide. As the inhabitants of
 " Egesta undertook the war without us, let them extricate
 " themselves from it as well as they can. Should any of our
 " generals

“ generals advise you to this enterprize, from an ambitious or
 “ self-interested view ; merely to make a vain parade of his
 “ splendid equipages, or to raise money to support his extrava-
 “ gance ; be not guilty of so much imprudence as to sacrifice
 “ the interest of the republic to his, or permit him to involve it
 “ in the same ruin with himself. An enterprize of so much
 “ importance ought not to be committed wholly to the con-
 “ duct of a young man. Remember it is prudence, not pre-
 “ judice and passion, that gives success to affairs.” Nicias
 concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be pro-
 per to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent
 the fatal consequences with which their taking rash resolutions
 might be attended.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enor-
 mous luxury was the object of his censure. And indeed he
 carried it to an incredible height ; and lavished prodigious sums
 of money, on horses, equipages, and moveables ; not to men-
 tion the delicacy and sumptuousness of his table. He disputed
 the prize in the olympic games with seven sets of chariot
 horses, which no private man had ever done before him ;
 and he was crowned more than once on that occasion. Ex-
 traordinary resources were necessary for supporting such
 luxury ; and as avarice often serves as a resource to ambition,
 there were some grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no less
 sollicitous for conquering Sicily and Carthage, (which he pre-
 tended to possess afterwards as his own) to enrich his family,
 than to render it glorious. It is natural to suppose, that
 Alcibiades did not let this speech of Nicias go unanswered.

“ This, says Alcibiades, is not the first time that merit
 “ has excited jealousy, and glory been made the object of
 “ envy. That very thing which is imputed to me for a
 “ crime, is, I will presume to say it, the honour of my
 “ country, and ought to gain me applause. The splendor in
 “ which I live ; the great sums I expend, particularly in the
 “ public assemblies ; besides their being just and lawful, at
 “ the same time give foreigners a greater idea of the glory of
 “ Athens ; and show, that it is not in such want of money as
 “ our

" our enemies imagine. But this is not our present business.
 " Let the world form a judgment of me, not from passion
 " and prejudice, but from my actions. Was it an inconsider-
 " able service I did the republic, in bringing over, (in one
 " day) to it's alliance, the people of Elis, of Mantinea, and
 " of Argos, that is, the chief strength of Peloponnesus ?
 " Make use therefore, to aggrandize your empire, of Alci-
 " biades's youth and folly, (since his enemies give it that
 " name,) as well as of the wisdom and experience of Nicias ;
 " and do not repent, from vain and idle fears, your engaging !
 " in an enterprize publicly resolved upon, and which may
 " redound infinitely both to your glory and advan-
 " tage. The cities of Sicily, weary of the unjust and
 " cruel government of their princes, and still more of
 " the tyrannical authority which Syracuse exercises over
 " them, wait only for a favourable opportunity to declare,
 " themselves ; and are ready to open their gates to whom-
 " soever shall offer to take off the yoke under which they
 " so have long groaned. Though the citizens of Egesta,
 " in quality of your allies, should not have a right to your
 " protection ; yet the glory of Athens ought to engage you
 " to support them. Republicks aggrandize themselves by
 " succouring the oppressed, and not by living unactive. In
 " the present state of your affairs, the only way to dispirit
 " your enemies, and show that you are not afraid of them,
 " will be, to harass one nation, to check the progress of an-
 " other, to keep them all employed, and carry your arms
 " into distant countries. Athens was not formed for ease ;
 " and it was not by inactivity that your ancestors raised it to
 " the height in which we now see it. For the rest, what
 " hazards will you run by engaging in the enterprize in questi-
 " on ? If it should be crowned with success, you will then
 " possess yourselves of all Greece ; and should it not answer
 " your expectations, your fleet will give you an opportunity
 " of retiring whenever you please, The Lacedæmonians in-
 " deed may make an incursion into our country ; but, besides
 " that

“ that it would not be in our power to prevent it though we
 “ should not invade Sicily, we still shall preserve the empire
 “ of the sea, in spite of them ; a circumstance which makes
 “ our enemies entirely despair of ever being able to conquer
 “ us. Be not therefore byassed by Nicias’s reasons. The
 “ only tendency of them is to sow the seeds of discord be-
 “ tween the young and old men, who can do nothing without
 “ one another ; since it is wisdom and courage, counsel and
 “ execution, that give success to all enterprizes : and this in
 “ which we are going to embark, cannot but turn to your
 “ advantage.”

(*m*) The Athenians, flattered and pleased with Alcibiades’s speech, persisted in their first opinion. Nicias, on the other side, did not depart from his ; but at the same time did not dare to oppose Alcibiades any further. Nicias was naturally of a soft and timid disposition. He was not, like Pericles, master of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down all things in it’s way. And indeed, the latter, on several occasions and at several times, had never failed to check the wild starts of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily ; because he was always inflexible, and never slackened the reins of that authority and kind of sovereignty which he had acquired over the people ; whereas * Nicias, both by acting and speaking in an easy, gentle manner, so far from winning over the people, suffered himself to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away : and accordingly he at last yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foresaw would be attended with the most fatal consequences.

Plutarch makes this reflection in his excellent treatise, where, speaking of the qualities requisite in a statesman, he shows how very necessary eloquence and inflexible constancy and perseverance are to him.

Nicias,

(*m*) Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. p. 802.

* Καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ χαλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέφει τὸν δῆμον, ὃ κατέχειν.

Nicias, not daring to oppose Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn especially from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained : That a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies : that they must raise an army, composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so grand a design : That besides their fleet, which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports, to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country : That they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise : That they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army ; the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, disposed by inclination as well as engaged by interest, to assist them with men, arms, horses, and provisions ; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country possessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in less than four months time ; a country, where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms : That it would reflect the greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to abandon their enterprize, and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required : That as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance ; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

(n) Nicias had flattered himself, that this speech would cool the ardor of the people, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they should judge necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places, with inexpressible activity,

SECT. VIII. *The Athenians prepare to set sail. Sinister omens. The statues of Mercury are mutilated. Alcibiades is accused, and insists upon his being tried, but his request is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet.*

(o) **W**HEN all things were ready for their departure, and they were preparing to sail, there happened several bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and disquietude. The * women were at that time celebrating the festival of Adonis, during which the whole city was in mourning, and full of images representing dead persons and funeral processions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed those statues with lamentations of that kind. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would soon lose all its splendor, and † wither away like a flower.

The general affliction was increased by another accident. The statues of Mercury, which stood at the entrance of private houses and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promised

(n) Diod. l. 13. p. 134.
Ant. J. C. 415. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib.
p. 200, 201.

(o) A. M. 3589.

* This superstitious rite had extended even to God's people. And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz, Ezek. viii. 14. N. B. The Latin version of the Bible, which Mr Rollin follows, says, weeping for Adonis; which

is the same as Tammuz, the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.

† The historian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.

promised to any person who should discover the authors of so audacious a crime, no one was accused. The citizens could not forbear considering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of some factious men, who harboured very ill designs. Some young people had already been accused of committing much the like crime in the midst of their cups ; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, with Alcibiades, who represented the high-priest, at their head. (p) It highly concerns all those in exalted stations, to be extremely careful of every step they take, and not to give the least opportunity to the most inveterate malice to censure them. They ought to call to mind, says Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-ey'd on these occasions ; that not only their outward actions pass the most severe scrutiny, but that they penetrate to their most private apartments, and there take the strictest notice of their discourses, their diversions, and the most secret things transacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themistocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from most of those pleasures in which others indulged themselves.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himself under any restraints ; and accordingly, as his character was so well known, people were persuaded he very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertinism, and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge, and the accuser was not afraid of telling his name. This attack staggered the constancy and resolution of Alcibiades ; but hearing the soldiers and sailors declare, that they were induced to engage in this expedition by no other motive but their affection for Alcibiades ; and that, should the least injury be done him, they would all leave the service ; he took heart, and appeared at his trial on the day appointed for that purpose. His enemies, upon pretence that it was necessary for the fleet to set sail, got the judgment superseded. It was to no pur-

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pose

(p) Plut. in præc. de rep. p. 800.

pose for Alcibiades to insist upon being tried, in case he was guilty, and not be ruined in his absence; and to represent, that it would be the most shocking and barbarous injustice to oblige him to embark for so important an expedition, without first making due enquiry into the accusations and horrid slanders which were cast upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of these remonstrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to set out.

(9) They accordingly prepared to set sail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends, or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life, who were setting out on a far distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, tho' they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships; but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprize so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expence of particular persons as well as of the public, with all things necessary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty gallies, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma (or ten-pence French) for his pay, exclusively

exclusively of what the captains of ships gave the * rowers of the first bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally; every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gayest in the whole fleet. I shall not take notice of the choice of the soldiers and seamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage; any more than of their officers, who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this fight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmost magnificence is displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded its expence and splendor.

When the ships were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition; gold and silver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accustomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the shore shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success. And now, the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they strove to outfail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made for Corcyra, where the army of the allies was assembling with the rest of the fleet.

SECT. IX. *Syracuse is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily.*

(r) **A**DVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuse from all quarters, it was thought so improbable, that at first no body would believe it. But as it was more
and

(r) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 432—445. Diod. l. 13. p. 135, 136.

* They were called *Spavirai*. They had longer oars than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.

and more confirmed every day, the Syracusans began to think seriously of making the necessary preparations; and sent deputations to every part of the island, to ask assistance of some, and send succours to others. They garrisoned all the castles and forts in the country; reviewed all the soldiers and horses; examined the arms in the magazines; and settled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet sailed in three squadrons, each under the command of it's particular general. It consisted of an hundred and thirty-six ships, an hundred whereof belonged to Athens, and the rest to the allies. On board these ships were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers, two thousand two hundred of whom were Athenian citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of those who had estates, and seven hundred * who had none, but were equally citizens; the rest consisted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and an hundred and twenty exiles of Megara. There was but one company of horse, consisting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a vessel proper for transporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land-forces were afterwards increased considerably. Thirty vessels carried the provisions and cooks, with masons, carpenters, and their several tools; the whole followed by an hundred small vessels for the service, exclusive of merchant-ships, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had sailed together for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they sailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made some stay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to succour those of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themselves: but these answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the rest of Italy. Here they debated on the manner

* These were called *Stetes*.

manner in which it was necessary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of those ships that had been sent out to make discoveries of a proper place for landing, and to enquire whether the citizens of Egeſta had got their money ready. Upon their return they brought advice, that they had but thirty talents in the treasury. This Nicias had foreſeen, but no regard had been paid to his ſalutary counſels.

(s) He did not fail, the inſtant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counſel he had given in Athens; to ſhow the wrong ſtep they had taken in engaging in this war; and to amplify the fatal conſequences which might be expected from it: in all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppoſe it in the beginning, and to ſet every engine at work to cruſh, if poſſible, this ill-fated project. But as it was reſolved, and he himſelf had accepted of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated inceſſantly, that this war had been undertaken in oppoſition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to cool the ardor of his two colleagues in the command, to diſpirit the ſoldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardor, which aſſure the ſucceſs of great enterprizes. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; ſhould have attacked them with vigour, and have ſpread an univerſal terror, by a ſudden and unexpected deſcent.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the council of war, was, that they ſhould fail for Selinunta, which had been the firſt occaſion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egeſta performed their promiſe, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwiſe, to oblige them to furniſh proviſions for the ſixty gallies they had demanded, and continue in that road till they ſhould have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinunta, either by force of arms, or ſome other way. He ſaid, that they afterwards ſhould return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the aſſiſtance
they

they gave their allies ; unless they should have an opportunity of making some attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over some city into their Alliance.

Alcibiades answered, that it would be inglorious, after their sailing out with so noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing ; and that they should first endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to divide them from the Syracusans, and procure troops and provisions from them ; and especially to send a deputation to Messina, which was a kind of key to Sicily, and it's harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared farther, that after seeing who were their friends, and who their enemies, and strengthening themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinunta or Syracuse ; in case the one should refuse to conclude a peace with Egesta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent ; that was, to sail directly for Syracuse, before it's citizens had time to recover from their surprize, or prepare for their defence. He observed, that the sudden arrival of an armed force always strikes the greatest terror ; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it also revives their courage ; whereas, when they are suddenly attacked, and still in confusion, they are generally overcome ; that as they would be masters of the open country, they should not be in want of any thing, but, on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to declare for them : That at last they should settle in Megara, which was quite desert, and a near neighbour to Syracuse, and there lay up their fleet in safety. However, his counsel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades : Accordingly they sailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by surprize.

SECT. X. *Alcibiades is recalled. He flies, and is sentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his genius and disposition.*

(t) **T**HIS was the first and last exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accusation against him. For, from the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, upon the specious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkest designs, meditated nothing but satiating their hatred and revenge; his enemies, I say, taking advantage of his absence, had proceeded in the affair with greater vigour than ever. All those against whom informations were lodged, were thrown into prison, without so much as being suffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the most profligate and abandoned citizens; as if, says Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to punish the innocent, as to suffer the guilty to escape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; having declared that he saw and knew one of the accused by moon-light; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithstanding this manifest perjury, the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Pisistratides made them apprehensive of the like fate; and strongly possessed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.

At last, they sent out the * ship of Salamin, ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force, for fear of raising a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his presence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley; but the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on shore, he disappeared, and eluded the pursuit of those who sought

(t) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 446—450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

* This was a sacred vessel, appointed to fetch criminals.

fought after him. Being asked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might pass on him: "I would not," says he, "rely on my mother, for fear lest she should inadvertently mistake a * black bean for a white one." The galley of Salamin returned back without the commander, who was ashamed of his having suffered his prey to escape him in that manner. Alcibiades was sentenced to die for his contumacy. His whole estate was confiscated, and all priests and priestesses were commanded to curse him. Among the latter was one Theano, who alone had the courage to oppose this decree, saying, † *That she had been appointed priestess, not to curse, but to bless.* Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, *I shall make them sensible, says he, that I am alive.*

(u) Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was prosecuted at Athens. He had settled himself in the latter city, where he taught atheism, and was brought to a trial for his doctrine. (x) Diagoras escaped the punishment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the sentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had so great an abhorrence for the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even set a price upon his head, and promised a reward of a talent to any man who should bring him dead or alive.

(y) About twenty years before, a like affair had happened to Protagoras, for having only treated the same question by way of problem. He had said in the beginning of one of his books: "Whether the gods do or do not exist, is a question which I know not whether I ought to affirm or deny: for our understandings are too much clouded, and
" the

(u) Joseph. contr. App.

(x) Diod. l. 13. p. 137.

(y) Diog. Laërt. in Protag. Joseph. contr. App. Cic. l. 1. de nat. deor. n. 62.

* *The judges made use of demnation.*
beans in giving their suffrages, † *Φάσκειντα ἐυχᾶν ὅτι κατὰ*
and the black bean denoted con- *ρῶν ἱερειαν γεγενῆσθαι.*

"the life of man is too short, for the solution of so nice
 "and difficult a point." But the Athenians could not bear
 to have a subject of this nature made a doubt; and for this
 reason, they ordered proclamation to be made by the public
 cryer, for all persons who had any copies of this book, to
 bring them to the magistrates: after which they were burnt
 as infamous pieces, and the author was banished, for ever,
 from all the territories of the Athenians.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the disciples of Demo-
 critus, who first invented the philosophy of atoms. I shall
 speak of him in another place.

(z) From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had possessed
 the whole authority: for Lamachus, his colleague, though a
 man of bravery and experience, was however in no credit,
 because of his extreme poverty, for which he was despised
 by the soldiers. But the Athenians were not always in this
 way of thinking; for we have seen that Aristides, poor as
 he was, was not less esteemed and respected on that account:
 but in this last expedition, the people in general had imbibed
 a passion for luxury and magnificence; the natural conse-
 quence of which is, a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore,
 governed all affairs solely, all his actions were of the same
 cast with his disposition, that is, of a slow and fearful kind:
 he suffered every thing to languish, sometimes either by lying
 still and undertaking nothing, sometimes by only sailing along
 the coast, or losing time in consulting and deliberating; all
 which soon suppressed, on one side, the ardor and confidence
 the troops expressed at first; and, on the other, the fear and
 terror with which the enemy had been seized, at the sight of
 so terrible an armament. He besieged Hybla; and though
 it was but a small city, he was however obliged to raise the
 siege some days after, which brought him into the highest
 contempt. He retired at last to Catana, after having per-
 formed but one exploit, *viz.* the ruining of Hyccara, a small
 town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place it is said,
 that

(z) Thucyd. p. 452, 453. Plut. in Nic. p. 533.

that *Lais* the courtesan, at that time very young, was sold with the rest of the captives, and carried to Peloponnesus.

(a) In the mean time, Alcibiades having left Thurium, was arrived at Argos; and as he quite despaired of ever being recalled home, he sent a messenger to the Spartans, desiring leave to reside among them, under their guard and protection. He promised in the most solemn manner, that if they would consider him as their friend, he would perform greater service for their state, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and soon after his arrival in their city, he gained the love and esteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed and even enchanted them, by his conforming himself so easily to their way of living. Such people as saw Alcibiades shave himself to the skin, bathe in cold water; eat of the coarse heavy cakes, which were their usual food, and be so well satisfied with their black broth; could not persuade themselves, that a man who submitted so cheerfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had used essences and perfumes; had wore the rich stuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midst of voluptuousness and profusion of all things. But flexibility was the characteristic that chiefly distinguished Alcibiades. Cameleon like, he could assume all shapes and colours, to win the favour of those among whom he resided. He immediately assumed their manners, and adapted himself to their taste, as if they had been natural in him; and though he inwardly had an aversion to them, he could however cover his disgust with an easy, simple, and unconstrained air. With some he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayest youth, and with others all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal, and austere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleness, and pleasure, made up his whole life: in Thrace, he was always on horseback or carousing: and when he resided with Tissaphernes the satrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Persians in luxury and profusion.

But

(a) Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in public, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not blush to call him Alcibiades; so violent was her passion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refused to own Leotychides for his son; for which reason he was afterwards excluded the throne.

S E C T. XI. *Description of Syracuse.*

AS the siege of Syracuse is one of the most considerable in the Grecian history; the particular circumstances of which I thought proper to relate for that reason, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of besieging by the antients; I judged it necessary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a description and plan of the city of Syracuse; in which he will also find the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in this siege.

(b) Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily. It's vast extent, it's advantageous situation, the conveniency of it's double harbour; it's fortifications built with the utmost care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of it's inhabitants, made it one of the greatest, the most beautiful, and most powerful among the Grecian cities. * We are told it's air was so pure and serene, that there was no day in the year, how cloudy soever it might be, in which the sun did not display it's beams.

S 2

It

(b) Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119.

* Urbem Syracusas elegat, cujus hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cælique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam

magna turbulentaque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore solem ejus diei homines viderent, *Cic. Verr.* 7. n. 26.

(c) It was built by Archias the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Megara had been founded on the same coast.

When the Athenians besieged this city, it was divided into three parts, *viz.* the Island, Achradina, and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only these three divisions. Two more, *viz.* Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The ISLAND, situated to the south, was called Naxos (Naxos) signifying, in Greek, an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. (d) It was in this island that the Syracusans afterwards built the citadel, and the palace for their kings. This quarter or division of the city was of very great importance, because it might render those who possessed it, master of the two ports which surround it. It was for this reason the Romans, when they took Syracuse, would not suffer any Syracusans to inhabit the island.

(e) There was in this island a very famous spring called Arethusa. The antients, or rather the poets, from reasons which have not the least shadow of probability, supposed that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponnesus, rolled it's waters either through or under the waves of the sea, without ever mixing with them, as far as the spring or fountain of Arethusa. It was this fiction gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.—
Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabêre Sicanos,
Doris amara, suam non intermisceat undam.

Virg. Eclog. 10.

Thy sacred succour, Arethusa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'tis the last I sing.—
So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny seas, securely glide.

Dryden.

ACHRA—

(c) A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. Strab. l. 6. p. 269.
(d) Cic. Verr. 7. n. 97. (e) Strab. l. 6. p. 270.
Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 3. c. 26.

ACHRADINA, situated entirely on the sea-side towards the east, was the most spacious, the most beautiful, and best fortified quarter of the city.

TYCHE, so called from the temple of Fortune (Τύχη) which embellished that part of the city, extended along Achradina westward from the north towards the south, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was situated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was situated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and west. It was exceedingly steep in several places, and for that reason of very difficult access. At the time of the siege in question, it was not surrounded with walls; and the Syracusans defended it with a body of troops, against the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the pass or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the same hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon or Labdulum.

It was not till long after (under Dionysius the tyrant) that Epipolæ was surrounded with walls, and inclosed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth division had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the new city, which covered Tyche.

(f) The river Anapis ran at almost half a league distance from the city. The space between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens or moors, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lyfimelia. This river emptied itself into the great harbour. Near it's mouth, southward, was a kind of castle called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius standing there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.

Syracuse had two harbours, very near one another, and separated only by the isle, viz. the great harbour, and the

small one called otherwise Laccus. According to the * description which the Roman orator gives of them, both were surrounded with buidings as parts of the city.

The greatest harbour was a little above † five thousand paces, or two leagues in circumference. It had a gulph called Dascon. The entrance of this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed, on one side, by the point of the island Ortygia; and on the other, by the little island and cape of Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or castle of the same name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

SECT. XII. *Nicias, after some engagements, besieges Syracuse. Lamachus is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greatest extremities.*

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(g) **A**T the end of the summer, news was brought Nicias that the Syracusans, having resumed courage, intended to march against him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of insolence to attack him even in his camp; and asked with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily to settle in Catana. These severe reproaches roused him a little, so that he resolved to sail for Syracuse. The enterprize was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmost hazard, attempt to land in presence of an enemy, who waited for him with the greatest resolution; and would not fail to charge him, the instant he should offer to make a descent. Nor was it safer for him to march

(g) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. 137, 138.

* *Portus habet prope in ædificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos. Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117.* *rence, which is twice it's real extent; a plain proof that this passage of Strabo is corrupt.*

† *According to Strabo, it is eighty stadia in circumfe-* *Claver. p. 167.*

march his troops by land, because, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracusans, which was very numerous, upon the first advice they should have of their march, would come to blows, and overpower him by the superiority of forces.

To extricate himself from this perplexity, and enable himself to seize without opposition upon an advantageous post, which a Syracusan exile had discovered to him, Nicias had recourse to stratagem. He caused a false piece of news to be given to the enemy, *viz.* that by means of a conspiracy, which was to take effect on a certain day, they might seize on his camp, and possess themselves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracusans, on this promise, marched towards Catana, and pitched their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition; and in the evening steered for Syracuse. They arrived by day-break in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themselves. The enemy finding themselves shamefully over-reached, returned immediately to Syracuse; and, in the greatest rage, drew up in battle-array some days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly, the Syracusans, who were unexperienced, and the greatest part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempest, whilst their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the season; and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the storm. The Syracusans, after making a long and vigorous resistance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not pursue them far, because their horse, which was still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracusans retreated in good order into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia to prevent it's being plundered.

This temple stood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very desirous of taking it, because it abounded with gold and silver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had consecrated. Nicias having delayed sending troops to seize it, lost the opportunity, and gave the Syracusans time to throw into it, as was before observed, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpose, and out of reverence to the gods; because, had the soldiers plundered this temple, the public would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himself only had been accused of the sacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, with design to return in the beginning of the next spring, and lay siege to the city. To do this, they wanted money, provisions, and particularly horse, of which they were absolutely destitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of these succours from the people of Sicily, whom they supposed would join them, the instant they should hear of their victory; and at the same time they sent an express to Athens, to solicit the like aid. They also addressed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and sent deputies to some cities of Italy, situated on the coast of the Tuscan sea, which had promised to assist them.

The Syracusans were far from desponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was most distinguished for his valour, his judgment, and experience, represented to them, in order to raise their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage, but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders, (they were fifteen in number) from which confusion and disobedience are inseparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be absolutely necessary for them to chuse experienced generals, to keep the rest in their duty, and exercise their forces continually during the winter season. This advice
being

being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they sent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon to renew the alliance, and at the same time to engage them to make a diversion, in order to oblige, if possible, the Athenians to recal their troops out of Sicily, or at least to prevent their sending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuse was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche, descending westward towards the quarter or division of the city called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater distance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, because it seemed to be sufficiently defended by its rugged and steep situation. They also garrisoned Megara and Olympia, and drove stakes into all those parts of the sea-shore, where the enemy might easily make a descent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waste the country adjacent to it.

(b) The ambassadors of Syracuse being arrived among the Corinthians, asked succour of them as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the same time they sent an embassy to the Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his resentment against Athens inflamed prodigiously. He advised and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and send him into Sicily; and at the same time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diversion. In the third place, he counselled them to fortify Decelia in Attica, which quite completed the ruin of the city of Athens, it not being able ever to recover that blow: For by this sort, the Lacedæmonians made themselves masters of the

(b) Thucyd. l. 6. p. 471—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. 13. p. 138.

the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their silver mines of Laurium, and of the revenues of their lands ; nor could they be succoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the asylum of all the malecontents and partizans of Sparta.

(i). Nicias had received some succours from Athens. It consisted of two hundred and fifty horsemen, whom the Athenians supposed would be furnished with horses in Sicily, (the troops bringing only the furniture) and of thirty horse-archers, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thousand French crowns *. Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accused of often letting slip opportunities, by his losing time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting measures ; however, when once he entered upon action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been slow and timorous in undertaking, as he showed on the present occasion.

The Syracusans hearing that the Athenians had a reinforcement of cavalry, and would soon march and lay siege to their city ; and knowing they could not possibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unless they should possess themselves of the hill of Epipolæ which commanded Syracuse, they resolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only pass by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inaccessible. Marching therefore down into the meadow or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed seven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important post ; and commanded them to repair to it, at the first signal which should be given for that purpose. But Nicias conducted his design with so much prudence, expedition, and secrecy, that they had not time to do this. He sailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the least suspicion of his design. Being arrived at the port of Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter

(i) A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414.

* About 67000 l. sterling.

D. Nothus.] PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 203

of a league (six or seven furlongs) from Epipolæ, he put his land-forces on shore, after which he retired with his fleet to Thapfus, a small peninsula of Syracuse, the entrance to which he shut up with a staccado.

The land-forces marched with the utmost expedition to seize on Epipolæ, by the pass of Euryelus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis at above a league's distance, had the least notice of their arrival. At the first news of this, the seven hundred soldiers, under the command of Diomilus, advanced forward in confusion, but were easily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead in the field. The Athenians, after setting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on the summit of Epipolæ, in order to secure their baggage and most valuable effects in it, whenever they should be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Egesta sent the Athenians three hundred horse, to which some of their Sicilian allies added a hundred more, that with the two hundred and fifty sent before by the Athenians, and who had furnished themselves with horses in Sicily, made a body of six hundred and fifty horse.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for taking Syracuse, was, to surround all the city on the land-side with a strong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes, no doubt, that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracusans from receiving any succours or provisions by sea.

Having left a garrison in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to shut up their city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilus, situate on the sea-side. This work was carried on with such a rapidity, as terrified the Syracusans. They thought it absolutely necessary to prevent the carrying on of this work, and accordingly made some sallies and attacks, but always with disadvantage, and even their

their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the rest carried stones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finish it.

The besieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it advisable not to venture a second battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a stop to their works, at least to render them useless, by running a line to cut that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined, that in case they should be suffered to complete their wall, it would be impossible for the Athenians to make any farther progress in their work: or that, should they endeavour to prevent it, it would suffice for the Syracusans to oppose them with a part of their forces, after having shut up such avenues as were most accessible with strong palisades: and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to send for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpressible ardor, they began to raise a wall; and, in order to carry it on with less molestation, they covered it with strong palisades, and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper distances, to defend it. The Athenians suffered the Syracusans to carry on their works undisturbed, because, had they marched only part of their troops against them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then must have been obliged to discontinue their works, which they were resolved not to do. The work being compleated, the Syracusans left a body of troops to defend the palisade, and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and observing the Syracusan soldiers, who had been left to guard the wall, very negligent in their duty; some returning at noon either into the city or their tents, and the rest not keeping a proper guard; they detached three hundred chosen soldiers, and some light infantry, to attack this post; during which the
rest

rest of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any succours from coming out of it. Accordingly, the three hundred soldiers having forced the palisade, pursued those who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos, where, pouring in indiscriminately with them, they were repulsed by the inhabitants with loss. The whole army afterwards demolished the wall, and pulled up the palisades of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After this success, whereby the Athenians were masters of the northern parts, they began, the very next day, a still more important work, and which would quite finish their inclosure of the city; *viz.* to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, westward, thro' the plain and the fens as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the besieged beginning the same kind of work as they had carried on on the other side, ran a trench, lined with palisades, from the city through the fens, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the sea. But the latter, after finishing the first part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, resolved to attack this new work. For this purpose, they ordered their fleet to sail from Thapsus to the great harbour of Syracuse, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the besieged had always the sea open to them, by which the besiegers were obliged to get their provisions from Thapsus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain, before day-break; when throwing planks and beams in that part where the fen was only slimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greatest part of the fossé lined with palisades, and then the rest, after having beat the Syracusans, who gave way, and retired; such as were on the right, towards the city, and the rest towards the river. Three hundred chosen Athenians having attempted to cut off the passage of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greatest part of which were drawn up in battle, repulsed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and

put

put the first battalions into disorder. Lamachus perceiving this from the left wing where he commanded, ran thither with the Argives and some archers ; but having passed a trench, and being abandoned by his soldiers, he was killed with five or six who followed him. The enemy immediately passed the river, and seeing the rest of the army come up, they retired.

At the same time their right wing, which had returned towards the city, resumed courage from this success, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians ; after having detached some troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which served as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded, They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias saved it. He was sick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domesticks about him. Animated by the danger and the presence of the enemy, he struggles with his indisposition ; rises up, and commands his servants to set fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themselves. This unexpected conflagration stopped the Syracusans, saved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haste to the relief of that general. At the same time, the fleet was seen sailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpose. The Syracusans having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they should be attacked from behind, and over-powered by the land-forces, they retired, and returned to the city with all their forces ; now no longer expecting, after having lost their fossé lined with palisades, that it would be possible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the sea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themselves with building a single wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through such places as were craggy and of difficult access, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the sea ; *viz.* a wall of contravallation against the besieged,

besieged, and another of circumvallation against those Syracusan troops which were out of the city, and such allies as might come to it's aid.

From thenceforth Nicias, who now was sole general, conceived great hopes ; for several cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side, came and joined him ; and there arrived from all quarters vessels laden with provisions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him, because he had acquired the superiority, and been exceedingly successful in all his undertakings. The Syracusans seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already proposed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their assistance, having heard, in his passage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless ; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preserve to the nations of Italy, such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island ; and were headed by a general, whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, now (contrary to his natural disposition) confiding in his own strength, and elate from his success ; persuaded also by the secret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuse, and the messengers who were sent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate, did not regard Gylippus's approach, and in consequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, especially when he heard that he brought but very few vessels ; terming him a trifling pyrate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance upon account of success, because the least negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias sent the smallest detachment to oppose Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuse, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECT. XIII. *The Syracusans resolve to capitulate, but Gylippus's arrival changes the face of affairs. Nicias is forced by his colleagues to engage in a sea-fight, and is overcome. His land-forces are also defeated.*

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(k) **T**HE fortifications of the Athenians were now almost compleated; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained, on the side towards Trogilus, only a small part of the wall to be finished. The Syracusans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themselves, and did not expect any succours. For this reason they resolved to surrender. Accordingly, a council was held to settle articles of capitulation, in order to present them to Nicias; and several were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate soon, before the city should be entirely invested.

It was at that very instant, and in the most critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles by name, arrived from Corinth on board a ship with three benches of oars. At his arrival, all the citizens flocked round him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies, which came to their aid. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stupified, as it were, with this news, could scarce believe what they heard. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after having taken a * fort in his way, marched in battle array directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilst the

(k) A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. 7. p. 485—489. Plut. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. 13. p. 138, 139. * *Jeges.*

the Syracusans should charge them, on their side, with the forces of Syracuse and his. The Athenians, exceedingly surprized by his arrival, drew up hastily, and without order, under the walls. With regard to himself, laying down his arms when he approached, he sent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condescend to make the least answer to this proposal; and some of his soldiers bursting out a laughing, asked the herald, *Whether the presence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the present state of the city?* Both sides therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus stormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The same day an Athenian galley was taken, as it sailed into the harbour. The besieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about the extremity of it) the single wall of the Athenians; and to deprive them of all communication with the troops, posted in the intrenchments which surrounded the city on the north side towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having finished the wall, which extended as far as the sea towards the great harbour, were returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the single wall which the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ, a part that was weaker and lower than the rest, marched thither in the night with his troops; but being discovered by the Athenians who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon seeing them advance directly towards him. They raised the wall higher, and themselves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the several posts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other side, thought proper to fortify the cape of Plemmyrium, which, by it's running into the sea, straitned the mouth of the great harbour; and his design thereby was, to procure provisions, and all other things he might want, the more easily; because the Athenians, by possessing themselves of that post, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracusans, and were the better

able to observe the various motions of it ; and that besides, by having the sea open, they would not be forced to have all their provisions from the bottom of the great harbour ; as they must have been, should the enemy, by seizing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep close in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, from the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left but from the side next the sea. Sending therefore his fleet and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ships were enabled to lie at anchor ; he also secured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet suffered very much ; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were surrounded by the enemy's horse, the third part of which were posted at Olympia, to prevent the garrison of Plemmyrium from falling, and were masters of the field. Advice being brought Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he sent twenty gallies against it ; ordering them to observe the enemy towards Locris, Rhegium, and the rest of the avenues of Sicily.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing those very stones which the Athenians had got together for their use, went on with the wall which the Syracusans had begun to carry through Epipolæ ; and drew up daily in battle-array before it, as did the Athenians. When he saw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the spot lying between the two walls. The narrowness of it having rendered his cavalry and archers useless, he came off with loss, and the Athenians set up a trophy. Gylippus, to reanimate his soldiers, by doing them justice, had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with ; and to declare publickly, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat ; because he had made them fight in too narrow a spot of ground. - However, he promised soon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his ; and accordingly, the very next day, he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them in the strongest terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their antient glory. Nicias perceiving,

perceiving, that though he should not desire to come to a battle, it would however be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near ; (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory) he therefore marched against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle ; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated the right. We have here an instance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing : for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground ; by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround them.

(a) After this success, the Syracusans, to whose aid the Corinthian fleet was arrived unperceived by that of the Athenians, resumed courage, armed several galleys ; and marching into the plains with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of prisoners. They sent deputies to Lacedæmonia and Corinth to desire a reinforcement ; Gylippus went in person to all the cities of Sicily, to solicit them to join him ; and brought over the greatest part of them, who accordingly sent him powerful succours. Nicias, finding his troops lessen, and those of the enemy increase daily, began to be discouraged ; and not only sent expresses to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the situation of affairs, but likewise wrote to them in the strongest terms. I repeat his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the state of things at that time in Syracuse, and may serve as a model for such kind of relations.

“ Athenians :

(a) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 490—494. Plut. in Nic. p. 536.
Diod. l. 13. p. 139.

“ Athenians : I have already informed you, by several ex-
 “ presses, of what passed here ; but it is necessary you should
 “ know the present situation of affairs, that you may resolve
 “ accordingly. After we had been victorious in several en-
 “ gagements, and almost compleated our contravallation,
 “ Gylippus arrived in Syracuse with a body of Lacedæmonian
 “ and Sicilian troops ; and, having been defeated the first
 “ time, he was victorious the second, by means of his caval-
 “ ry and archers. We are in consequence shut up in our in-
 “ trenchments, without daring to make any attempt, or
 “ compleat our works through the superiority of the enemy’s
 “ forces ; for part of our soldiers are employed in guarding
 “ our forts, and consequently we have not an opportunity of
 “ employing all our forces in battle. Besides, as the Syracu-
 “ sans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that part where they
 “ were not compleat ; it will no longer be possible for us to
 “ invest the city, unless we should force their intrenchments ;
 “ so that instead of besieging, we ourselves are besieged, and
 “ dare not stir out, for fear of their horse.

“ Not contented with these advantages, they are bringing
 “ new succours from Peloponnesus, and have sent Gylippus
 “ to force all the neutral cities of Sicily to declare for them ;
 “ and the rest to furnish them with men and ships, to attack
 “ us both by sea and land. I say by sea, which though very
 “ surprizing is however but too true, For our fleet, which
 “ before was considerable, from the good condition of the
 “ gallies and mariners, is now very deficient, in those very
 “ circumstances, and prodigiously weakned,

“ Our gallies leak every where ; because we cannot draw
 “ them on shore to careen them, for fear, lest those of the
 “ enemy, which are more numerous, and in better condition
 “ than ours, should attack us on a sudden, which they seem
 “ to threaten every moment. Besides, we are under a ne-
 “ cessity of sending many backwards and forwards to guard
 “ the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great di-
 “ stance, and bring along in sight of the enemy ; so that
 “ should

“ should we be ever so little negligent in this point, our army
“ would be starved.

“ With regard to the ships crews, they decrease sensibly
“ every day ; for as great numbers of them disperse to ma-
“ raud, or to fetch wood and water, they are often cut to
“ pieces by the enemy’s horse. Our slaves, allured by the
“ neighbourhood of the enemy’s camp, desert very fast to
“ it. The foreigners which we forced into the service, di-
“ minish daily ; and such as have been raised with money,
“ who came for plunder rather than fighting, finding them-
“ selves baulked, go over to the enemy who are so near us,
“ or else hide themselves in Sicily, which they may easily do,
“ in so large an island. A great number of citizens, though
“ long used to, and well skilled in working of ships, by bribing
“ the captains, put others in their room who are wholly un-
“ experienced, and incapable of serving, and by that means
“ have quite subverted all discipline. I am now writing to
“ men perfectly well versed in naval affairs ; and who are
“ very sensible, that, when order is neglected, every thing
“ grows worse and worse, and a fleet must inevitably be
“ ruined.

“ But the most unhappy circumstance is, that tho’ I am
“ generalissimo, I cannot put a stop to these disorders. For
“ (Athenians) you are very sensible, that such is your dispo-
“ sition, that you do not easily brook restraint ; besides, I
“ do not know where to furnish myself with seamen, whilst
“ the enemy get numbers from all quarters. It is not in the
“ power of our Sicilian allies to aid us ; and should the cities
“ of Italy, from whence we have our provisions, (hearing
“ the extremity to which we are reduced, and your not taking
“ the least care to send us any succour) join the Syracusans,
“ we are undone ; and the enemy will have no occasion to
“ fight us.

“ I could write of things which would be more agreeable,
“ but of none that could be more advantageous to you, nor
“ which could give you a more just idea of the subjects on
“ which you are to deliberate. I am sensible that you love to
“ have

“ have such advices only sent you as are pleasing ; but then
 “ I know on the other side, that when affairs turn out other-
 “ wise than you expected and hoped for, you accuse those
 “ who deceived you ; which induced me to give you a sincere
 “ and genuine account of things, without concealing a single
 “ circumstance. By the way I am to inform you, that no
 “ complaints can be justly made either against the officers or
 “ common soldiers, both having done their duty very well.

“ But now that the Sicilians join all their forces against us,
 “ and expect a new army from Peloponnesus ; you may lay
 “ this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that our
 “ present troops are not sufficient : and therefore, we either
 “ must be recalled ; or else a land and naval force, equal to
 “ the first, must be sent us, with money in proportion. You
 “ must also think of appointing a person to succeed me ; it
 “ being impossible for me, thro’ my nephretic disorder to sus-
 “ tain any longer the weight of the command. I imagine that
 “ I deserve this favour at your hands, on account of the services
 “ I have done you, in the several commands conferred upon
 “ me, so long as my health would permit me to act.

“ To conclude ; whatever resolution you may come to,
 “ the request I have to make, is, that you would execute it
 “ speedily, and in the very beginning of the spring. The
 “ succours which our enemies meet with in Sicily are all
 “ ready ; but those which they expect from Peloponnesus
 “ may be longer in coming. However, fix this in your
 “ minds, that if you do not exert yourselves, the Lacedæmo-
 “ nians will not fail, as they have already done, to be before-
 “ hand with you.”

The Athenians were strongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impression on them as Nicias expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a successor ; and only nominated two officers who were under him, *viz.* Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till other generals should be sent. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set

out immediately with ten gallies, and some money *, about the winter solstice, to assure Nicias that a speedy succour should be sent him ; during which, the latter was raising troops and contributions, in order to set sail early in the spring.

(b) The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, being supported by the Corinthians, were very industrious in preparing reinforcements to send into Sicily, and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from sailing to that island. Accordingly they entered Attica early, under the command of king Agis ; and after having laid waste the country, they fortified Decelia ; having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater dispatch. This post is about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about six French leagues, and the same distance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually solliciting the Lacedæmonians ; and could not be easy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians most of all : for hitherto the enemy, retiring after they had laid waste the Athenian territories, the latter were unmolested all the rest of the year ; but from the fortifying of Decelia, the garrison left in it was continually making incursions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town ; for, in the day-time, a guard was mounted at all the gates ; and in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such vessels as brought provisions from the island of Eubœa, and which before had a much shorter passage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium ; by which means provisions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thousand slaves, the greatest part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme misery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Most of the
horses

(b) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 494—496 and 502, 504. Diod. l. 13. p. 140. A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413.

* 120 talents.

horses were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waste in this manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious scarcity of money; so that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.

(n) In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raise in the whole island; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprize. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it: That the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea: That they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity: That they ought to copy them; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land-forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five galleys of Syracuse which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would see themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also; and, with twenty-five ships, sailed to

fight

(n) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 497—500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels which were sailing out against them from the great harbour; and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy, which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss; for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour, (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiously one against the other as they entered it in disorder; and by this means shifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with pursuing them, but also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan gallies were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three, and after towing those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the center of their camp.

The Syracusans also raised three trophies for their taking of the three forts; and after razing one of the smaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garrisons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made prisoners there; and great sums of money were taken, the property of the public, as well as of merchants and captains of gallies, besides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewise lost the stores and rigging of forty gallies, with three ships that lay in the dock. But a more considerable circumstance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting provisions and ammunition so easily; for, whilst the latter was possessed of Plemmyrium, they procured these securely and expeditiously;

tiously; whereas, after their being dispossessed of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous, because they could not bring in any thing without fighting; the enemy lying at anchor just off their fort. Thus the Athenians could have no provisions but from the point of their swords; which dispirited the soldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great consternation.

(o) There afterwards was a little skirmish in defending a staccado which the inhabitants had made in the sea, at the entrance of the old harbour, to secure the shipping. The Athenians having raised towers and parapets on a large ship, made it advance as near as possible to the staccado, in order that it might serve as a bulwark to some ships which carried military engines, with which they drew up stakes by the help of pulleys and ropes, exclusive of those which the divers sawed in two; the besieged defending themselves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such stakes as had been drove in, level with the surface of the water, in order to strand those vessels that should come near them, were the hardest to force away. The divers also bribed the enemy, and most of the stakes were torn up; but then others were immediately drove in their places. The utmost efforts were used on both sides, in the attack as well as the defence.

(p) One circumstance which the besieged considered of the greatest importance, was, to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the fleet, and other succours sent by the Athenians, should arrive. They had concerted fresh measures for a battle at sea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the last engagement. The change made in the galleys was, their prows were now shorter, and at the same time stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose, they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each side of the prows; and to these
pieces

(o) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 500, 501.

(p) Thucyd. l. 7.

p. 509—513. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Dioc. p. 140, 141.

pieces they joined beams by way of props. These beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the gallies of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention that should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves, nor to pass between two gallies, in which lay their greatest art; nor to tack about, after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all these advantages, and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus therefore first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies set sail.

Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demosthenes, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he, as his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command with Nicias, till the arrival of Demosthenes; fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, were eager to perform some great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if possible, eclipse that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occasion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they asserted with so much vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed, should they shun the battle, as the Syracusans offered it them, that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy-five gallies, and the Syracusans eighty.

The first day the fleets continued in sight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging; and only a few skirmishes passed, after which both parties retired: and it was just the same with the land-forces. The Syracusans did not make the least motion the second day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line, at some distance from one another, in order that his gallies might retire behind them with safety, in case he should be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not suppose they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreshed themselves in great diligence, and returning on board their gallies, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ships, they entered them in great disorder, so that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle; and most of the sailors were fasting. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians, after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind their line of transport ships. The enemy pursued them thither, and were stopt by the sailyards of those ships, to which were fixed * dolphins of lead, which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's gallies, would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven gallies in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

(9) This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever since the time he had first enjoyed the supreme command, came into his mind; and he now is involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was
(9) Thucyd. 1. 7. p. 513—518. Plat. in Nic. p. 537. Diod. p. 141, 142.

* This engine, so violent was it's motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.

was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as should fill the enemy with dread : it was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three gallies, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen. All these gallies were richly trimmed ; their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets ; Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities : all they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former ; and that their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing, to increase daily ?

Demosthenes having made an exact enquiry into the state of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to lose time as Nicias had done, who, having spread an universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, instead of going directly to Syracuse ; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himself with the hopes, that he should be able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm, which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it, and by that means should immediately put an end to the war : otherwise he intended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive ; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing it's treasures in needless expences.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved: For there were certain persons in Syracuse who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, are his usual protraction, delays, distrusts, and "fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not "marching them immediately against the enemy; but, on "the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own "forces were weakened and despised." This made the rest of the generals and all the officers come over to Demosthenes's opinion; and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce with it.

Demosthenes, after having attacked to no purpose the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiscovered, he marched thither

ther in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the centinels; attack the first intrenchment, and storm it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his soldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his design, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, march, under arms, out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprize, they are stopped on a sudden by the Boeotians, who make a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads an universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled either force along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose; and from their often asking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because by their being together and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. In the mean time, those who were pursued, threw themselves from the top of rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who escaped, straggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's

my's horse, who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

SECT. XIV. *The consternation with which the Athenians are seized. They again hazard a sea-fight, and are defeated. They resolve to retire by land. Being close pursued by the Syracusans, they surrender. Nicias and Demosthenes are sentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens.*

(r) **T**HE Athenian generals, after sustaining so great a loss, were in a prodigious dilemma, and did not know how to act in the present discouragement and despair of the troops, who died daily, either by the diseases of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demosthenes was of opinion, that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, since they had been unsuccessful in so important an enterprize; especially as the season was not too far advanced for sailing; and that they had ships enough to force a passage, in case the enemy should dispute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raise their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuse, by which they exhausted themselves to no purpose; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.

Nicias was sensible, that the arguments his colleague used were very just, and he himself was of his opinion: but at the same time he was afraid, lest so public a confession of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their resolution to leave Sicily, (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy) should compleat the ruin of their affairs; and

(r) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 511—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diod. p. 142.

and perhaps make them unable to execute their resolution when they should attempt it. Besides, they had some little hopes left that the besieged, being themselves reduced to great extremity by their absolute want of provisions and money, would at last be inclined to surrender upon honourable terms. Thus, altho' he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he insinuated, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians should have first sent orders for that purpose; and that otherwise they would be highly displeased: That as those who were to judge them, had not been eye-witnesses of the state of things, they would be of a different opinion; and, at the instigation of some orator, certainly condemn them: That most of those men who now exclaimed with the greatest vehemence against the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege: That knowing so well, as he did, the disposition and character of the Athenians, he chose to die gloriously by the enemy's sword, rather than be ignominiously condemned by his fellow-citizens.

These reasons, though they appeared very strong, were yet not able to convince Demosthenes; and it was still his opinion, that the only good choice they could make, would be to retire. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former opinion, he was afraid of insisting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagining, with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, as he was so firmly resolved to stay.

(s) Gylippus, after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege, especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them both by sea and land. Besides,

Nicias

(s) Thucyd. l. 7. p. 521—548. Plat. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. 13. p. 142—161.

Nicias no longer opposed this resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail, (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon) the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendor; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the soothsayers; and who being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprizes but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past, (these are Thucydides's words) which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared, that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month; as if he had not seen the planet very clearly, the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being soon spread over the city, a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack; and at the same time sailed, with seventy-six gallies, against eighty-six of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him: for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans,

Syracusans, after forcing the main battle which was in the center, attacked him; drove him vigorously into the gulf called Daecon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the galleys, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into their staccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore; and to give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they should have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side; and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them to retire with some loss as far as the moor called Lyfimelia, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials; and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship.

Each side erected trophies: the Syracusans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before: and the Athenians, for their having drove part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed. The Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a compleat victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome by sea so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed cross-wise,

wise, and other vessels fixed with anchors and iron chains ; and at the same time made the requisite preparations for the battle, in case they should have the courage to engage again. When the Athenians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire ; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea. This made them resolve to venture a sea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules ; and to intrench themselves on the shore, near their ships, in the smallest compass possible. Their design was, to leave some forces in that place to guard their baggage and the sick ; and to fight with the rest on board all the ships they should have saved. They intended to retire into Catana, in case they should be victorious ; otherwise, to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having lost their oars) with the flower of his infantry ; and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan gallies, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight, as on shore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper parts of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men ; and none could ever have been prompted from stronger motives ; for the battle which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but also the fate of their country.

The battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those
ships

ships which defended the entrance of it ; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came rushing, on each side, in a narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion ; and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reason, did very little execution ; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones, which always did execution from what place soever they were thrown ; whereas they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships, from the agitation of the sea, did not carry true, and by that means the greatest part of them did little execution. Ariston the pilot had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges being over, the soldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ships in order to fight hand to hand : and it often happened, that whilst they were climbing up one side, their own ships were entred on the other ; and two or three ships would be grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Farther, the noise of the ships that dashed one against the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country ; and this the enemy employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat and more glorious victory. The two land-armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, and the inhabitants of the city who were ran to the walls ; whilst the rest, kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give success to their citizens ; all these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed ; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive

to, and shuddering at every movement, and the several changes which happened ; they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures ; stretching out their hands, sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last, the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long battle and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight, and drove against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by an universal shout, the news of this victory. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy ; whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and over-power'd, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chuse ; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and to retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the former ; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was therefore resolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape ; since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were at time in the midst of their festivity and rejoycings ; and meditating nothing but how they might best divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnizing the festival of Hercules. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again, in order to pursue the enemy ; and to attempt to draw them from their diversions either by force or persuasion, would

would have been to no purpose ; for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud : " Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light ; for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on the passes." This false advice stopt Nicias at once ; and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure ; and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence, and abandon the rest.

The enemy had time enough for seizing the avenues. The next morning early they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes, fortified those places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain ; so that there was not one place through which the Athenians could pass without fighting. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them, with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going ; or else, dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit ; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations ; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilst every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in

which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people ; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illness ; deprived of the most necessary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most ; pierced, not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart ; this great man, superior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers ; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occasioned ; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time ; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them ; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable, (being still near forty thousand strong) that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper ; that they had no more to do, but to take care severally of themselves, and march in good order ; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover it's former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx ; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the center. Being come to the river Anapís, they forced the passage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days march ; every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way.

The

The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army which despair alone might render invincible ; and, the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired ; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana as they first intended. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van-guard, commanded by Nicias, came forward in good order ; but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and lost their way. On the next day the Syracusans, who on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmost diligence, came up with him about noon ; and having surrounded him with their horse, they drove him into a narrow place inclosed with a wall, where his soldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the close of the day, that they were oppressed with the fatigue, and covered with wounds, they gave the islanders leave to retire, which some of them accepted ; and afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion with Demosthenes, after having stipulated, that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, and passing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done, Nicias could not persuade himself at first, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore desired leave to send

some horse for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demosthenes had really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages, as they should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, however sustained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Asinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans advancing up to them, threw most of them into the stream; the rest having already plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirst. Here the greatest and most bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the least pity as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered at discretion; upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. (†) The Athenians seemed to have been displeased with their general, for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and, for this reason, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the prisoners, the finest and largest trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of those trees; when crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having happily terminated the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their strength and valour, a most signal and most compleat victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the prisoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greatest authority among the people, proposed, That

(†) Pausan. l. 1, p. 56.

That all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned, and only two measures of flour, and one of water given them daily; that the slaves and all the allies should be publicly sold; and that the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

(u) This last article was exceedingly disgusted by all wise and compassionate Syracusans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people, but they would not hear him; and the shouts which echoed on all sides, prevented him from continuing his speech. At that instant an * antient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who, in this war, had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the instant he appeared a profound silence was made. " You here behold," says he, " an unfortunate father, who has felt, more than any other Syracusan, the fatal effects of this war by the death of two sons, who formed all the consolation, and were the only supports of my old age. I cannot indeed forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing, to their country's welfare, a life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart; nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children. But however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible to my private affliction, than to the honour of my country: and I see it exposed to eternal infamy, by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians indeed merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that could be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them and revenged us sufficiently? When their generals laid down their arms

" and

" and surrendered, did they not do this in the hopes of hav-
 " ing their lives spared? And, if we put them to death,
 " will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach, of our
 " having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our
 " victory by an unheard-of cruelty? How! Will you suffer
 " your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole
 " world; and have it said, that a nation, who first dedicated
 " a temple in their city to clemency, had not found any in
 " yours? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal
 " glory to a city; but the exercising mercy towards a van-
 " quished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prof-
 " perity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and
 " insolent pride. You doubtless have not forgot that this
 " Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the
 " very man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the
 " Athenians; and employed all his credit and the whole
 " power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from em-
 " barking in this war. Should you therefore pronounce sen-
 " tence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just
 " reward for the zeal he showed for your interest? With re-
 " gard to myself, death would be less grievous to me, than
 " the sight of so horrid an injustice, committed by my coun-
 " trymen and fellow-citizens."

The people seemed moved to compassion at this speech,
 especially as, when this venerable old man first ascended, they
 expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who
 had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for
 their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians, having ex-
 patiated with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which
 their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their
 enemies and even to their antient allies; the inveteracy which
 their commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils
 they would have made it suffer had they been victorious; the
 afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who
 bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose
 manes could be appeased no other way than by the blood
 of their murderers; on these representations, the people re-
 turned

turned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him, (especially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wise and compassionate men could not forbear shedding tears, for the tragical fate of two such illustrious personages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made, to prevent this war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against providence, in seeing that a man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men should inspire the heathens with such thoughts, and make them murmur and despond; since they did not know the holiness of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The prisoners were shut up in the mines (*prisons of Syracuse*) where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched, in the day-time, by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen, in the night, by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, by the carcases of those who died of their wounds and of sickness; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirst, for their daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water, and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves (many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition) found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their pa-

tience,

tience, and a certain air of probity and modesty were of great advantage to them; for, they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Euripides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; so that when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour, by his verses.

(x) The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at first; and were so far from giving credit to it, that they sentenced that man to death who had first published it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; and as if themselves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and resentment against the orators who had promoted the enterprise, as well as against the soothsayers, who, by their oracles or supposed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as now; having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with so great a victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe *, speaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.

The Athenians however, did not suffer themselves to be wholly dejected, and resumed courage. They now resolved to

(x) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

* Hic primum opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, portu Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragi-
um factum existimatur. Cic.
Verrin. 7. n. 97.

to raise money on all sides, and to import timber for building of ships, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa. They retrenched all superfluous expences, and established a new council of antient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they should be proposed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of service in the present conjuncture; the alarm in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and docile to all advice that might promote it's interests.

CHAPTER II.

THIS chapter is the sequel of the preceding book, and contains the eight last years of the Peloponnesian war, during as many years of the reign of Darius Nothus.

SECT. I. *Consequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the allies, Alcibiades grows into great power with Tissaphernes.*

(a) **T**HE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse gave occasion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people who had not yet joined either side, and waited to be determined by the event, resolved to declare against them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expences of a war, which lay very heavy upon them, by the speedy and final ruin of Athens. Those of Athens, who followed them only out of constraint, seeing no appearance of any future resource for that republic, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it best to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependance, and resuming their liberty. Dispositions of this kind inspired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which

(a) A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 553.

were supported by the hopes they had conceived, that their Sicilian allies would join them in the spring with a naval army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

(b) In effect the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the same time came deputies from Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus. The first was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Hellespont. Those viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their master. Tissaphernes, promising the Lacedæmonians all the necessary expences for their troops, pressed them to arm directly, and to join him; because the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the usual contributions in his province; and had put it out of his power to remit those of preceding years to the king. He hoped besides with that powerful aid to get into his hands with more ease a certain nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to send to him dead or alive. This was Amorges the bastard of Pisisthna. Pharnabasus at the same time demanded ships to reduce the cities of the Hellespont from their subjection to the Athenians; who also prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by satisfying Tissaphernes; and the credit of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that resolution. He embarked with Calcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians resolved to take the * thousand talents out of the treasury, which had been deposited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus also revolted soon after. Tissaphernes, having joined his troops with those of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iasus, in which (c) Amorges had shut him-

(b) Idem, p. 555—558.

(c) Thucyd. l. 8, p. 568.

* Three millions of livres.

self up, who was taken alive and sent into Persia. That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma or ten pence a day to each soldier, observing that he had orders to give them only half that sum for the future.

(d) Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tissaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country, which had been subject to the king or his predecessors, should remain in his hands. It was renewed some time after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with some small alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great concessions had been made to the king of Persia, in giving up all the places held by himself or his ancestors, which was to make him master of the greatest part of Greece, Thessaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the islands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enslaved Greece, than re-establish it's liberty. It was therefore necessary to make farther alterations in it, with which Tissaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however concluded, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the mean time, several cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. (e) Agis, who was already his enemy in effect of the injury he had done him, could not suffer the glory he acquired: For nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally said, that the success of all enterprizes was owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the same sentiments of jealousy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length by their intrigues obliged the principal magistrates to send orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being secretly apprized of this order, did not discontinue his services to the Lacedæmonians, but

(d) Idem, l. 8. p. 561—571, 572—576. (e) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 577—579. Plut. in Alcib. p. 164, 165.

but kept himself so well upon his guard, that he avoided all the snares which were laid for him.

(f) For his better security he threw himself into the protection of Tissaphernes, the great king's governor at Sardis, and was not long without seeing himself in the highest degree of credit and authority in the court of the Barbarian. For the Persian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and set no value upon simplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the smooth address of Alcibiades, the ease with which he assumed all kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart so hard, or temper so untractable, as to hold out against the graces and charms of his conversation and intimacy. Even those, who feared and envied him most, enchanted in a manner by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not dissemble the infinite satisfaction they felt in seeing and conversing with him.

Tissaphernes therefore, though otherwise very haughty and brutal, and who of all the Persians hated the Greeks most, was so much taken with the complacency and insinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himself wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: inso-much that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the finest and most delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of it's fountains and canals, and the verdure of it's groves, as the surprizing beauty of it's retreats and solitudes, which art and nature seemed to vye in embellishing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was displayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any safety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the resentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tissaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Persian into his views, which were conformable to his master's interests, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty con-

cluded

cluded under Cimon, the kings of Persia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other measures to ruin them. They endeavoured underhand to excite divisions amongst them, and to foment troubles by considerable sums of money, which they found means to convey sometimes to Athens, and sometimes to Sparta. They applied themselves so successfully to keep up a balance of power between those two republicks, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only slight aids, that could effect nothing decisive, in order to undermine them insensibly, and exhaust both parties gradually, by weakening them upon one another.

It is in this kind of conduct, that policy makes the ability of ministers consist; who from the recess of their cabinets, without noise or emotion, without any great expences, or setting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the states whose power gives them umbrage, either by sowing domestic divisions amongst them, or by promoting the jealousy of their neighbours, in order to set them at variance with each other.

We must confess however, that this kind of policy gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Persia. To reduce themselves, powerful as they were, to such mean, obscure, and indirect measures, was to confess their weakness, and how unable they believed themselves to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Besides, does it consist with justice to employ such methods in regard to people, against whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whose sole crime is the apprehension of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? And is it lawful by secret corruptions to ensnare the fidelity of subjects, and to be the accomplice of their treasons, by putting arms into their hands against their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Persia have acquired, if content with the vast and rich dominions, which providence had given them, they had applied their

good offices, power, and even treasures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other; to remove their jealousies, to prevent injustice and oppression; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themselves the mediators of their differences, the security of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties? Can any conquest, however great, be compared with such glory?

Tissaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Persians, their common enemy. He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the same time that he declared himself openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to assist the Athenians underhand, and by a thousand secret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ships, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occasion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendship and esteem, which rendered that general equally considerable to both parties. The Athenians, who had sadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their passing sentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades also on his side, who was extremely sorry to see the Athenians in so mournful a situation, began to fear that the city of Athens being entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECT. II. *The return of Alcibiades to Athens negotiated upon condition of establishing the aristocratical, in the room of the democratical, government. Tissaphernes concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians.*

(g) **T**HE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the rest in their duty,

(g) Thucyd. 1. 8. p. 579—587.

duty, (b) and found themselves still in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the hundred and fifty Phœnician ships which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived, that if so powerful a fleet should join the enemy, there was no longer any safety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed amongst the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know, that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tissaphernes, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to these proposals, and conceived great hopes of discharging themselves from part of the public impositions, because being the richest of the people the burden lay heaviest upon them, and of making their country triumph after having possessed themselves of the government. At their return, they began by bringing over such as were most proper to share in their design; after which they caused a report to be spread amongst the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades were re-instated, and the popular government abolished. That proposal surprized the soldiers, and was generally rejected at first; but the charm of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, soon softened what was harsh and shocking in it, and even made them ardently desire the recall of Alcibiades.

Y 3

Phrynicus,

(b) Plut. in Alcib. p. 204, 206.

Phrynicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-establishment, had the boldness to oppose their resolutions, which were about to take place. He represented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the state; that it was very unlikely, that the king of Persia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, so much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over those who had renounced it, who would persist in preferring their liberty; that the government of a small number of rich and powerful persons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies, than that of the people, because ambition was the great cause of all misfortunes in a republic, and the rich were the sole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandizing of themselves; that a state suffered more oppressions and violences under the rule of the nobility, than that of the people, whose authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the asylum of such as they desired to oppress; that the allies were too well acquainted with these truths from their own experience, to want any lessons upon the subject.

These remonstrances, as wise as they were, had no effect. Pisander was sent to Athens with some of the same faction, to propose the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tissaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They represented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Persia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alledged, amongst other reasons, the imprecations pronounced by the priests, and all the orders of religion, against him, and even against such as should propose to recall him. But Pisander, advancing into the midst of the assembly, demanded, whether they

they knew any other means to save the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced : and as it was admitted there were none, he added, that the preservation of the state was the question, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the sequel ; but at present there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendship and that of Tissaphernes. Tho' this change was very offensive to the people, they gave their consent to it at length, with the hope of re-establishing the democracy in time, as Pisander had promised ; and they decreed that he should go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, and that in the mean time Phryniscus should be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his stead.

The deputies did not find Tissaphernes in so good a disposition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and consume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at first, that the Athenians should abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards insisted upon their adding the neighbouring islands. Those demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permission to fit out a fleet, and to cruize in the Grecian seas ; which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had imposed upon them.

Tissaphernes without loss of time concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians ; in which, what had displeased in the two preceding treaties, was retrenched. The article, which yielded to Persia the countries in general, that had been in the actual possession of the reigning king Darius, or his predecessors, was limited to the provinces of Asia. The king engaged to defray all expences of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till
the

the arrival of that of Persia ; after which they were to support it themselves ; unless they should chuse that the king should pay it, to be re-imbursed after the conclusion of the war. It was further agreed, that they should unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common consent. Tissaphernes, to keep his promise, sent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponnesian war.

SECT. III. *The whole authority of the Athenian government having been vested in four hundred persons, they abuse it tyrannically, and are deposed. Alcibiades is recalled. After various accidents, and several considerable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and is appointed generalissimo. He causes the great mysteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet.*

(i) **PISANDER**, at his return to Athens, found the change he had proposed at his setting out much forwarded, to which he put the last hand soon after. To give a form to this new government, he caused ten commissaries with absolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation of infringing the law, or consequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated an hundred persons including themselves. Each of these chose and associated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged. But to amuse the people, and

(i) Thucyd. l. 8. p. 590, 594. Plut. in Alcib. p. 105.

to console them with a shadow of popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens, to assist them when they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual; nothing was done however but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost an hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratides;

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made use of when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recal those who were banished, lest they should authorize the return of Alcibiades, whose uncontrollable spirit they apprehended, and who would soon have made himself master of the people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, some they put to death, others they banished, confiscating their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexs; and those would have met with a bad reception, who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to it.

(k) All that had passed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the soldiers to the highest degree. They deposed immediately several of their chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others into their places, of whom Thrasylus and Thrasylbulus were the principal, and in highest credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen generalissimo by the whole army, that desired to sail directly for the

(k) Thueyd. l. 8. p. 595—604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Diod. p. 165.

the Piræus to attack the tyrants. But he opposed it, representing that it was necessary he should first have an interview with Tissaphernes, and that as they had chosen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He set out immediately for Miletus. His principal design was to shew himself to that governor with all the power he had been invested, and to let him see that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The consequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tissaphernes, he now awed Tissaphernes no less by the Athenians; and we shall see in the sequel that this interview was not unnecessary.

Alcibiades, upon his return to Samos, found the army more enflamed than at first. The deputies of the four hundred arrived there during his absence, and had endeavoured in vain to justify the alteration made at Athens to the soldiery. Their discourses, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, served only to exasperate them more, and they earnestly demanded to be led against the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occasion, as every body else would have done in consequence of having been raised to so high a dignity by the favour of the people. For he did not think himself obliged to an absolute and implicit compliance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and a fugitive, they had made him general of so great a fleet, and so numerous and formidable an army: but as a statesman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppose the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which must have been attended with their utter ruin. This wise steadiness preserved the city of Athens. For had they sailed thither at first, the enemy had made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands without resistance; whilst the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhausted their whole forces against one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and dismissed them; saying, that he did not object to the five thousand citizens

citizens having the supreme authority in the republic, but that it was necessary to depose the four hundred, and to re-establish the senate.

(l) Whilst this passed, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at * Aspendus. Tissaphernes went to meet it; no body being able to divine the cause of that journey. He had sent for that fleet at first to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a stop to their progress, by making them wait it's arrival. It was believed that his journey had the same motive, to prevent their doing any thing in his absence, and that their soldiers and mariners might disband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Persia's interest, and to exhaust both parties by the length of the war. For it had been very easy to have put an end to it by the assistance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as strong at sea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuse, of it's not being compleat, for not bringing it with him, sufficiently shews that he had other reasons for his conduct.

(m) The return of the deputies without success, who had been sent to Samos, and the answer of Alcibiades excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred. The tumult increased exceedingly, when news was brought, that the enemy, after having beat the fleet, sent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themselves masters of the island. Athens was in the highest terror and consternation upon this account. For neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were so considerable as the loss of this island, from whence the city received considerable supplies, and almost all it's provisions.

(l) Thucyd. p. 604, 606.

(m) Thucyd. p. 607—614. Plat. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diocl. p. 171, 172 & 175—177 & 189—192.

* *A city of Pampbylia.*

If in the confusion, in which Athens was at that time between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indispensably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country: and then the republic would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all it's dominions. For the Hellespont, Ionia, and all the islands, seeing themselves abandoned, would have been reduced to take party, and go over to the Peloponnesians. But the enemy were not capable of such great designs; and this was not the first time the Lacedæmonians had been observed to have lost their advantages by the slowness and protraction natural to them.

Athens without delay deposed the four hundred, as authors of all the troubles and divisions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he should owe his recal to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit. (n) For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of ships, he cruised about the island of Cos and Cnidos; and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed to the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were strongest and pursued the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them ashore; and animated by his success, sunk their vessels, and made a great slaughter of the soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea to save themselves by swimming; though

(n) A. M. 3595. Aat. J. C. 409.

though Pharnabafus spared no pains to affist them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coast, to favour their flight, and to fave their fhips. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and re-taken thofe they had loft, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, vain of his fuccefs, had the ambition to defire to appear before Tiffaphernes in this triumphant equipage, and to make him rich prefents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tiffaphernes, who knew he was accused by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would punifh him at length, for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades's prefenting himfelf very opportune, and caufed him to be feized and fent prifoner to Sardis; to fhelter himfelf by that injuftice againft the representations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horfe, efaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomena, where, to revenge himfelf on Tiffaphernes, he gave out, that he had fet him at liberty. From Clazomena, he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty fhips from Macedonia, and by Thrafybulus with twenty more from Thafos. He failed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All thofe fhips, to the number of fourfcore and fix, being come thither, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconnefus, a fmall ifle near Cyzicum. He heard there, that Mindarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabafus and his land-army. He refted that whole day at Proconnefus. On the morrow, he harangued his foldiers, and reprefented to them the neceffity there was for attacking the enemy by fea and land, and for making themfelves mafters of Cyzicum; demonftrating at the fame time, that without a compleat and abfolute victory, they could have neither provifions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy fhould not be apprized of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great ftorm of rain

and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprize so successfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had caused to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to sea.

When the gloom was dispersed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared, exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising his small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight. Mindarus and Pharnabasus opposed his efforts in vain: the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, besides the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciseness truly laconic, advised the Ephori of the blow they had received in terms to this effect: *The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.*

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the Athenians than consternation to the Spartans. (o) They dispatched ambassadors immediately to demand that an end should be put to a war equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for
the

the re-establishment of their antient concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. The wisest and most judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealousies, appease all animosities, and remove all distrusts. But those who found their advantage in the troubles of the state, prevented the good effects of that disposition. (*p*) Cleophon, amongst others the most reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal of harangues, by a violent and seditious discourse, insinuating, that their interests were betrayed by a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them lose for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had caused them to suffer. This Cleophon was an inconsiderable fellow, a musical-instrument-maker. It was reported also that he had been a slave, and had got himself fraudulently inrolled in the register of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury so far, as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one who should talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their present prosperity, forgetting their past misfortunes, and promising themselves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all proposals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing so fluctuating and precarious as the success of war. The ambassadors retired without being able to affect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the fore-runners of some great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make use of the victory he had gained, and presently after besieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison. During this siege, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabazus, terrified by the rapidity of his conquests, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect;

Z 2

“ That

(*p*) *Æsch.* in orat. de fals. legat.

“ That Pharnabafus fhould pay them a certain fum of money ;
 “ that the Chalcedonians fhould return to their obedience,
 “ depend upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute ; and
 “ that the Athenians fhould commit no hoftilities in the pro-
 “ vince of Pharnabafus, who engaged for the fafe conduct of
 “ their ambaffadors to the great king.” Byzantium and
 feveral other citizes fubmitted the Athenians.

(g) Alcibiades, who defired with the utmoft paffion to fee
 his country again, or rather to be feen by his country after
 fo many victories over their enemies, fet out for Athens.
 The fides of his fhips were covered with bucklers and all forts
 of fpoils, in form of trophies ; and caufing a great number of
 veffels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he difplayed
 alfo the enfigns and ornaments of thofe he had burnt, which
 were more than the others ; the whole amounting to about
 two hundred fhips. It is faid, that reflecting on what had
 been done againft him, upon approaching the port, he was
 ftruck with fome terror, and was afraid to quit his veffel till
 he faw from the deck a great number of his friends and rela-
 tions, who were come to the fhore to receive him, and earneft-
 ly entreated him to land.

The people came out of the city in a body to meet him,
 and at his appearance fet up incredible fhouts of joy. In the
 midft of an infinite number of officers and foldiers, all eyes
 were fixed folely on him, whom they confidered as victory
 itfelf, defcended from the fkyes : all around him paffionately
 careffing, bleffing, and crowning him in emulation of each
 other. Thofe, who could not approach him, were never
 tired with contemplating him at a diftance, whilft the old men
 fhewed him to their children. They repeated with the
 higheft praifes all the great actions he had done for his
 country ; nor could they refufe their admiration even to
 thofe he had done againft it during his banifhment, of which
 they imputed the fault to themfelves alone. This pub-
 lic joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remem-
 brance

brance of past misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their present felicity. "We could not have failed," said they, "of the conquest of Sicily; our other hopes could never have proved abortive, if we had referred all our affairs and forces to the disposal of Alcibiades alone. In what a condition was Athens when he took upon him our protection and defence! We had not only almost entirely lost our power at sea, but were scarce possessed of the suburbs of our city, and, to add to our misfortunes, were torn in pieces by a horrid civil war. He notwithstanding has raised the republic from its ruins; and not content with having re-instated it in the possession of the sovereignty of the sea, has rendered it universally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or preserve it, and victory was annexed to his person, and obeyed his orders."

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an assembly of the people, in order to his justification before them; well knowing how necessary it was for his safety to be absolved in form. He appeared therefore; and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely ascribed to his ill fortune, and some daemon envious of his prosperity; he represented to them the designs of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, transported with hearing him speak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by sea and land with unlimited power, restored him all his fortunes, and ordered the * Eumolpides and Ceryces to absolve him from the curses they had pronounced against him by the order of the people; doing their utmost to make him amends for the injury and shame of his

Z 3

banishment

* The Eumolpides and first who had exercised those Ceryces were two families at offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had some relation to that of heralds, Ceres. They took their names Κήρυκες, from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the

banishment by the glory of his recal, and to efface the remembrance of the anathema's themselves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilst all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking those imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to say : *But for me, I have not cursed him, if he has done no evil to his country* ; insinuating by that bold expression, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the Lead of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midst of this glory and shining prosperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they considered the time of his return. For it happened precisely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated the feast in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The priests took off all the ornaments from the goddess's statue to wash it, from whence that feast was called Πλυντήρια, and afterwards covered it ; and that day was accounted one of the most ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which answers to the 2d of July (r). This circumstance displeased that superstitious people, because it seemed to imply, that the goddess, patroness and protectress of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aspect, since she covered and concealed herself, as if she would keep him off, and remove him from her.

(s) All things having however succeeded according to his wish, and the hundred ships he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great mysteries ; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken possession of all the ways from Athens to Eleusina, the feast had not been solemnized in all it's pomp, and the procession had been obliged to go by sea. The particular ceremonies of this solemnity may be seen in book X. chap. iii.

Alcibiades believed it would be a most glorious action, and attract the blessings of the gods, and the praises of men, if he
restored

(r) N. S.

(s) Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.

restored all it's lustre and solemnity to this feast, in making the procession go by land under the convoy of his troops, to defend it against the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would suffer it to pass quietly, notwithstanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would considerably lessen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory; or if he should chuse to attack it, and oppose the march, he should then have the satisfaction to fight a sacred battle; a battle grateful to the gods, for the greatest and most venerable of all their mysteries, in the fight of his country and citizens, who would be witnesses of his valour, and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this public and ostentatious act of piety, which struck the people's view in so sensible a manner, and was so extremely to his taste, Alcibiades's principal design was to efface entirely from their minds the suspicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of statues, and prophanation of mysteries, had given birth.

Having taken that resolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Ceryces to hold themselves in readiness, posted centinels upon the hills, sent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the priests, the initiated, and the probationers with those who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and disposed the whole pomp with wonderful order, and profound silence. Never was shew, says Plutarch, more august, nor more worthy the majesty of the gods, than this warlike procession, and religious expedition; in which even those, who envied the glory of Alcibiades, were obliged to own, that he was no less happy in discharging the functions of an high priest, than those of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or disturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades re-conducted the sacred troops to Athens with entire safety. This success gave him new courage, and raised the valour and boldness of his army to such a degree, that they looked upon themselves as invincible, whilst he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower sort of people so much, that they most ardently desired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themselves

to that effect ; and there were some who addressed themselves to him, and exhorted him to set himself above envy, and not to trouble himself about laws, decrees, or suffrages ; to put down those wordy impertinents that disturbed the state with their vain harangues, to make himself master of affairs, and to govern with entire authority without fearing accusers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny and his designs were, are unknown ; but the most powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already saw the sparks, pressed him to depart without delay ; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for colleagues the generals most agreeable to him. He set sail accordingly with an hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterprizes, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint Lysander admiral. He becomes very powerful with young Cyrus, who commanded in Asia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus in the absence of Alcibiades, who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are chosen in his stead. Callicratidas succeeds Lysander.*

(r) **T**HE Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at the return and success of Alcibiades, conceived that such an enemy made it necessary to oppose him with an able general, capable of making head against him. For this reason they made choice of Lysander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the city very well disposed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta ; but otherwise in a very unhappy situation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by assuming the manners and customs of the Persians, who had great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as because the king's generals commonly took up their winter quarters there. An idle

(r) Xenoph. Hellen. l. II. p. 440—442. Plut. in Lysand. p. 434, 435. Diod. l. 13. p. 192—197.

idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty shew, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lyfander, who had been bred from his birth in the simplicity, poverty, and severe discipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Ephesus, he gave orders for assembling ships of burden there from all parts, erected an arsenal for building of galleys, made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence, to which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state!

Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngest son, was arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above sixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's accession to the crown in the seventeenth year of his reign. Parysatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire ascendant of her husband. It was she, that occasioned his having the supreme government of all the provinces of Asia minor given him; a command that subjected all the provincial governors of the most important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Parysatis was without doubt to put the young prince into a condition to dispute the throne with his brother after the king's death; as we shall see he does to some effect. One of the principal instructions, given him by his father upon sending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians against Athens; an order very contrary to the measures observed till then by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of those provinces. It had always been their maxim, sometimes to assist one party, sometimes the other, in order to hold their power in such a ballance, that the one might never be able to crush the other entirely: from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterprizes against the Persian empire.

Upon

Upon Lysander's being apprized therefore of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he set out from Ephesus to make him a visit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tissaphernes, who notwithstanding the orders he had received to support the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the sea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, whose measures he entirely gave into, and had been the sole cause of the loss of the fleet, by not supplying it with the necessary quantity of provisions. This discourse pleased Cyrus, who looked upon Tissaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he answered, that the king had given him orders to support the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents * for that purpose. Lysander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was submissive and condescending, full of complacency for the grantees, always ready to pay his court to them, and supporting, for the good of the service, all the weight of their haughtiness and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour some people make the whole address and merit of a courtier consist.

He did not forget himself on this occasion, and setting at work all that the industry and art of a compleat courtier could suggest of flattery, and insinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praised his generosity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he desired him to give each soldier and mariner a drachma † per day; in order to debauch those of the enemy by that means, and thereby terminate the war the sooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but said, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expressly settled only half a talent ‡ to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking

* Five hundred thousand crowns, about 112500 l. sterl.

† Ten pence.

‡ One thousand five hundred livres, about 112 l. sterling.

ing to his health, and pressing him to ask something of him, Lyfander desired that an * obolus a day might be added to the seamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four oboli, instead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lyfander ten thousand || darics for that purpose, that is, an hundred thousand livres, or about five thousand pounds sterling.

This largesse filled the whole fleet with ardor and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's galleys; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding the satrap represented, that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to ballance the power of one side with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

Though Lyfander had considerably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariners pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, particularly apprehending Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ships, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by sea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phocæa, and Ionia, to raise money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express order not to fight or attack the enemy in his absence; the new commander, to make shew of his courage, and to brave Lyfander, entered the port of Ephesus with two galleys, and after having made a great noise, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and insult. Lyfander,

* The drachma was six instead of five pence, or three oboli, or ten pence French; oboli.
each obolus being three half || A daric is about a pence: so that the four oboli pistle.
were six pence halfpenny a day,

sander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached some galleys, and went himself in pursuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to support Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his side to come on, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lyfander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, sailed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lyfander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it: so that he retired without doing any thing.

(u) Thrafybulus at the same time, the most dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuse him. To enflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full assembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given himself up to the most * notorious debauchees and drunkards, who from common seamen were the only persons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leisure to enrich himself in the provinces, and to plunge himself there into intemperance and all other infamous excesses, to the disgrace of Athens, whilst his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy's.

Another article of accusation against him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an asylum and retreat for him; as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious inconstant people, gave credit to these impeachments. The loss of the last battle, and his little success since his departure from Athens, instead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely sunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be said to

(u) A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 506.

* *Antiochus is pointed at in this place, a mean, debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him, which he had let fly.*

to have occasioned his ruin. For he was suspected of not desiring to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, because they were fully persuaded, that nothing he desired to do was impossible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the rapidity of his conquests did not answer to that of their imaginations; not considering, that he made war without money upon a people who had the great king for their treasurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in quest of what was necessary for the payment and subsistence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten generals nominated in his stead; of which, when he received advice, he retired in his galley to some castles he had in the Thracian Chersonesus.

(x) About this time died Plistonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, and was succeeded by Pausanias, who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine answer to one who asked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the ancient customs of Sparta: * *Because, says he, at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*

(y) Lyfander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependance of Sparta, that the governors of his chusing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them independent of their people, he caused such persons of the principal cities to come to Ephesus, as he knew to be the boldest, and most enterprising and ambitious. These he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greatest honours, and raised to the first employments of the army, thereby rendering himself, says Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppressions they committed to advance and enrich themselves. For this reason they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to succeed him, and took upon him the

(x) Diod. p. 196. (y) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. p. 442—444. Plut. in Lyfand. p. 435, 436. Diod. p. 197, 198.

* "Οτι τὰς νόμους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢ τὰς ἀνδρας τῶν νόμων κυρίως εἶναι δεῖ. Plut. in Apoph. p. 230.

the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lyfander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. A like severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the antient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all things; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falshood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great and powerful could not hinder themselves from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleased with the facility and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.

It was not without mortification and jealousy, Lyfander saw him arrive at Ephesus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baseness and treachery, not uncommon with those who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the public, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thousand darics, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the subsistence of his army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and distressed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not resolve to extort any from the citizens, as he found them sufficiently rifled already.

(z) In this urgent necessity a person having offered him fifty talents (that is to say, fifty thousand crowns) to obtain a favour he could not grant with justice, he refused them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, said, "I would accept them were I in your place. And so would I," replied the general, "were I in your's."

He

He had no other resource therefore than to go as Lyfander had done, to ask money at the gates of the king's general and lieutenants, for which he was the least proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble sentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baseness, he was convinced at heart, that it was less evil and dishonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than infamously to make their court, and beg at the gates of Barbarians, whose only merit consisted in their gold and silver. The whole nation were indeed disgraced by so mean a prostitution.

Cicero, in his Offices, draws two very different characters of persons employed in the administration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals, of whom we speak. The one, says he, * zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, pique themselves upon their simplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it can ever consist with honour to lay snares, or use artifice. The others, prepared to do or suffer every thing, are not ashamed of the meanest actions and prostitutions, provided from those unworthy means, they have reason to expect the success of their designs. Cicero places Callicratidas amongst the former, and Lyfander amongst the latter, to whom he gives two epithets not much to his honour, and hardly consistent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful and very patient*, or rather *very complaisant*.

Callicratidas however, forced by necessity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he desired that prince might be told, that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to speak with him. He was answered,

A a 2

that

* Sunt his alii multum serviant, dum, quod velint, dispare, simplices et aperti; consequantur. Quo in genere qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex versutissimum et patientissimum. Lacedæmonium Lyfandrum accepimus, contra insidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perperantur, cuius de- que Callicratidem. *Offic. l. 1. n. 109.*

that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a * party of pleasure ; to which he replied with a modest tone and air, that he was in no haste, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards set up a laugh, wondering at the honest stranger's simplicity, which had so little the air of the world in it ; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither a second time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Ephesus, loading those with curses and imprecations, who had first made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and submissions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence for insulting the rest of mankind. Addressing himself at the same time to those about him, he swore, that as soon as he returned to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongst themselves, that for the future they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no further occasion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whose thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whose justice, magnanimity, and valour, might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the most excellent and most consummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor to apply himself to a work so great, and so worthy of him.

SECT. V. *Callicratidas is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginusæ. The Athenians pass sentence of death upon several of their generals for not having brought off the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle. Socrates alone has the courage to oppose so unjust a sentence.*

(a) **C**ALLICRATIDAS, after having gained several victories over the Athenians, had at last pursued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where

(a) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. p. 444—452. Diod. l. 13. p. 198 & 201—217—222.

* The Greek says literally, *an instance of their merit, as that he was drinking, $\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$. we shall see in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.*
The Persians valued themselves upon drinking a great deal, as

where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon seeing himself besieged by sea and land, without hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found means to apprize Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in less than a month's time a fleet of an hundred and ten sail were fitted out, on board of which were embarked all that were capable of bearing arms, as well slaves as freemen, with some horse. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and steered for the Arginusæ, islands situate between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their course, left Eteonicus to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with an hundred and twenty sail, with design to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thrasyllus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were supported by a second line with a like number of ships, commanded by Lyfias and Aristogenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines, was under Aristocrates and Diomedon, supported by Erasimides and Pericles *. The main body, consisting of near thirty galleys, amongst which were the three Athenian admirals, was disposed in one line. They had strengthened each of their wings with a second line; because their galleys were neither so swift, nor so easy to manage, as those of the enemy; so that there was reason to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both sides at the same time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themselves with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, advised him not to hazard the battle, and to retire; but he replied, that he could not fly without shame, and that his death was of small importance to the republic. *Sparta, said he, does not depend upon*

A 2 3

ONE

* He was son of the great Pericles.

one man. He commanded the right wing, and Thrasondas the Theban the left.

It was terrible to behold the sea covered with three hundred galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to desire; so that there was reason to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured so long. When the signals were given, the two armies raised great shouts, and began the fight. Callicratidas, who from the answer of the augurs, expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldness, sunk some of their ships, disabled others by breaking their oars, and piercing their sides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thousand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him fast with a grappling iron, he found it impossible to disengage himself, and was surrounded in an instant by several of the Athenian vessels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful slaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquished. The right wing, which he commanded, having lost its admiral, was put to flight. The left, composed of Boeotians and Euboeans, still made a long and vigorous resistance, from the important concern they were in, lest they should fall into the hands of the Athenians, against whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in disorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginusæ. They lost twenty-five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than seventy, of which number, were nine of the ten furnished by the Lacedæmonians.

(*b*) Plutarch equals Callicratidas the Lacedæmonian general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themselves most worthy of admiration amongst the Greeks.

He

(*b*) Plut. in *Lyfand*, p. 436.

(c) He blames him however exceedingly for hazarding the battle at the Arginusæ, and observes, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had, through a mistaken sense of honour, failed in the essential duty of his function. For, says Plutarch, if (to use the comparison of * Iphierates) the light-armed infantry resemble the hands, the horse the feet, the main body the breast, and the general the head; the general, who abandons himself rashly to the impetuosity of his valour, does not so much neglect or expose his own life, as the lives of those, whose safety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to answer the pilot who advised him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one man*. For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by sea or land, *was no more than one man*, yet, commanding an army, all that obeyed his orders were collected in his person; and he, in whom so many thousands might be lost, *was no longer one man*. † Cicero had passed the same judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having said, that there were many persons to be found, who were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even lives, for their country; but who, out of a false delicacy in point of glory, would not hazard their reputation for it in the least; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who answered those that advised him to retreat from the Arginusæ, *That Sparta could fit out another*

(c) Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* He was a famous general of the Athenians.

† Inveni multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam, profundere pro patria parati essent, iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Pe-

loponnesiaco bello, multaquæ fecisset egregiè, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissa, aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse. *Offic. l. 1. n. 48.*

another fleet if this were lost ; but for himself, he could not fly before the enemy without shame and infamy.

I return to the sequel of the battle near the Arginusæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thrasylbulus, and some other officers, to return with about fifty galleys to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilst they rowed on with the rest against Eteonicus, who kept Conon besieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempest came on suddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received the news of the defeat, and fearing it might occasion alarm and terror amongst the troops, sent back those who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out, that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, and having made his troops take some refreshment, he sent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land-army to Methymna, after having burnt the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However, when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their resentment upon those they believed guilty of that crime. The antients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead ; and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay their last duties to those who had fallen in battle ; upon which they believed their happiness in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the resurrection of the body ; but however, the pagans, in the soul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the passion with which they rendered solemn honours to the dead, seem to argue, that they had some confused notion of a resurrection, which subsisted amongst

amongst all nations, and descended from the most antient tradition, tho' they could not distinguish clearly upon it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes and Philocles for colleagues. Eight days after which, two of them withdrew themselves, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes the tenth general, who returned before the rest of the fleet, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had wrote to the senate and people, wherein they excused themselves from the violence of the storm, without charging any body. That calumny was detestably vile, as done in abuse of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he might have appeared the most guilty. The generals at their return, not being able to prevail for the time necessary for making their defence, contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots, and all present when it happened. The people seemed to receive their excuse favourably, and several persons offered themselves for their sureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the assembly, because of the night, and it being the people's custom to give their suffrages by lifting up of hands, their resolution could not be known; besides which the council were first to give their opinion upon the question to be proposed to the people.

The feast of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the custom to assemble by families, the relations of Theramenes posted several persons in mourning habits, and shayed, in proper places, who said, they were the kindred of those who had been slain in the battle, and obliged Calixenes to accuse the generals in the senate. It was decreed in consequence, that as the accusation and defence had been heard in the last assembly, the people by their respective tribes should give their voices, and if the accused were found guilty;

guilty, they should be punished with death, their estates confiscated, and the tenth part consecrated to the * goddess. Some senators opposed this decree as unjust, and contrary to the laws : but as the people, at the instigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the opposers in the same cause and crime with the generals, they were so mean as to desist from their opposition, and to sacrifice the innocent generals to their own safety by consenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philosopher) was the only one of the senators that stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing a decree so notoriously unjust, and so contrary to all laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, shewed,

“ That they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they
 “ had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up :
 “ that if any one were guilty, it was he, who, being
 “ charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in
 “ execution ; but that he accused no body ; and that the
 “ tempest, which came on unexpectedly at the very instant,
 “ was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the
 “ accused from all guilt. He demanded, that a whole day
 “ should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour
 “ not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be
 “ tried separately. He represented, that they were not in
 “ the least obliged to precipitate a sentence, wherein the
 “ lives of the most illustrious of the citizens were concerned ; that it was in some measure attacking the gods
 “ to make † men responsible for the winds and weather ;
 “ that they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude
 “ and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they
 “ ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied
 “ them ; that if they did so, their unjust judgment would
 “ be followed with a sudden, but vain, repentance, which
 “ would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them
 “ with

* Minerva.

† Quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri assignet, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint ? *Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 3.*

"with eternal shame and infamy." The people seemed at first to be moved with these reasons; but animated by the accusers, they pronounced sentence of death against eight of their generals; and six of them, who were present, were seized, in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a person of great reputation for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. "Athenians," said he, "I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to ask of you in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen, that did not melt into tears at this discourse so full of goodness and religion, and admire with surprize the moderation of a person, who seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not however vent the least resentment, or even complaint, against his judges, but was solely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to perish) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The six generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that sentence, but their repentance could not restore the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in prison, and refused to be heard. Having found means to make his escape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned some time after to Athens, where he died of hunger, universally detested and abhorred by all the world, as all false accusers and slanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks, that the people themselves were justly punished for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a single master, but to thirty tyrants, that treated them with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

(d) The disposition of a people is very naturally imaged in this account; and Plato, upon the same event, draws in few words their character with much spirit and resemblance. The * commonalty, says he, is an unconstant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, incapable of submitting to the government of reason; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly composed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous assemblage, without form or order, of all that is worst in it.

The same relation shews what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon those who pass for the wisest, and how few there are, who are capable of supporting inflexibly the view of present danger and disgrace. Though the justness of the generals cause was perfectly known in the senate, at least by the major part of it, as soon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, those grave senators, most of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers of war, instantly changed sides, and came over to the most notorious calumny, and crying injustice that ever had being. An evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely transcends the valour, that induces so many thousands of men every day to confront the most terrible dangers in battle.

Amongst all the judges, only one, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treason and perfidy, stood firm and immoveable; and tho' he knew his suffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no consequence to the accused, he thought them a just homage to oppressed innocence, and that it was † unworthy an honest man to govern himself by the fury of a blind and frantic people. We see in this instance how far the cause of justice may be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thousand
citizens

(d) Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

* Δημόσιον ἀνέχον, ἀχάριστον, ὠμόν, βάσκανον, ἀπαιδεύον.

† Οὐ γὰρ ἐφαίνετό μοι σεμνὸν δῆμον μαινομένῳ συνεξέρχειν.

citizens, who composed the assembly, two only took upon them the defence of their generals, Euripodemos and Axiochus. Plato has preserved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of these reflections are taken.

(e) The same year the battle of the Arginusæ was fought, Dionysius possessed himself of the tyranny in Sicily. I shall defer speaking of him till book XI. in which I shall treat the history of the tyrants of Syracuse at large.

SECT. IV. *Lyfander commands the Lacedæmonian fleet, Cyrus is recalled to court by his father. Lyfander's celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.*

(f) **A**FTER the defeat at the Arginusæ, the affairs of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, supported by the credit of Cyrus, sent an embassy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet should again be given to Lyfander, with the promise of serving with more affection and courage if their request were granted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta, that the same person should be twice admiral; the Lacedæmonians, to satisfy the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and sent Lyfander with him, whom in appearance they commissioned only as vice-admiral, though in effect with all the authority of the supreme command.

All those who had the greatest share in the government of the cities, and were of most authority in them, saw him arrive with extreme joy; promising themselves, from his influence, the final subversion of the democratic power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, suited much better with their ambitious and injurious views, than the austere equity of Callicratidas. For Lyfander was a man of the most corrupt heart, and gloried in

(e) A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406. (f) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 45. Plut. in Lyf. 9. 436, 437. Diod. l. 13. p. 223. A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 405.

in having no principles in point of virtue or the most sacred duties. He made no scruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occasions, and esteemed justice only as far as it served his measures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the useful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; from a persuasion that truth had in it's own nature no advantage over falsehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience resulting from them. And for those who represented to him, that it was unworthy the descendants of Hercules to make use of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them; For, said he, *where the lion's skin is not long enough, it is necessary to tack the fox's tail to it.*

An expression ascribed to him, sufficiently denotes, how small an account he made of perjury. He used to say, * *Children are amused with baubles, and men with oaths*; shewing, by so professed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconsiderable with him than his enemies. For he, who deceives with a false oath, plainly declares in so doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he despises God.

(g) Here ends the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. In this year it was, that young Cyrus, dazzled with the unusual splendor of supreme authority, and jealous of the least omission in point of ceremonial homage, discovered by a remarkable action the secret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning house, nurtured under the shade of the throne, amidst the submissions and prostrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the discourses of an ambitious mother that idolized him, in the desire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of sovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with surprizing haughtiness and rigour. Two Persians of the royal family, his cousin-germans

(g) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 454.

* *The Greek text admits another in their games, and another sense, which is perhaps no less good: Children* another in their oaths. *Εκέλευε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀσπαγάλαις, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὄρκαις ἐξαπαλᾶν.*

mans by their mother, his father Darius's sister, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to a ceremonial observed only to the kings of Persia. Cyrus, resenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and caused them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whose feet their relations threw themselves to demand justice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his son's as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being sick, and having a desire to see him.

Cyrus before his departure sent for Lyfander to Sardis, and put into his hands great sums of money for the payment of his fleet, promising him still more for the future. And with the ostentation of a young man, to let him see how much he desired to oblige him, he assured him, that though the king his father should cease to afford him any supplies, he would furnish him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he should want the necessary provisions, he would even cause the throne of massy gold and silver, upon which he sat in judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of setting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his absence, unless superior in force; because the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that superiority to the enemy; promising at the same time, with the strongest assurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ships from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

(b) After that prince's departure, Lyfander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampfacus. Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. (i) The place was carried by

B b 2

storm,

(b) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. p. 455—458. (i) Plut. in Lyf. p. 437, & 440. Id. in Alcib. p. 212. Diod. l. 13. p. 225, 226,

storm, and abandoned by Lyfander to the mercy of the foldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Cherfonefus, with an hundred and fourfcore galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampfacus, they immediately fteered for Sestos, and after having taken in provifions, they ftood away from thence, failing along the coaft to a place called * Ægospotamos, where they halted over-againft the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampfacus. The Hellespont is not above two thoufand paces broad in that place. The two armies, feeing themfelves fo near each other, expected only to reft that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.

But Lyfander had another defign in view. He commanded the feamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themfelves in readinefs, and to wait his orders with profound filence. He ordered the land-army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coaft, and to wait the day without any noife. On the morrow, as foon as the fun was rifen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lyfander, though his fhips were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay ftill without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not fuffer his foldiers to go on afhore, till two or three galleys, which he had fent out to obferve them, were returned with advice, that they had feen the enemy land. The next day paffed in the fame manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued referve and apprehenfion, extremely augmented the fecurity and boldnefs of the Athenians, and infpired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which fear, in their fenfe, prevented from fhewing themfelves, and attempting any thing.

Whilst this paffed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horfe, and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he

* *The river of the goat.*

he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their own pleasure, whilst the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wife and salutary counsel, as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening according to custom with more insulting airs than the days before. Lyfander, as usual, detached some galleys, to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence, when they saw the Athenians landed, and to put up a brazen buckler at each ship's head as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ships heads, and the admiral's galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forwards in good order. The land-army at the same time made all possible haste to the top of the promontory to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen stadia, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which space was

presently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived from shore, the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and perplexity, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were ran to the sutlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had began to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose, and gave their soldiers the same liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries, and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship called the *Paralian*, stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, took immediately the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lyfander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampſacus amidst the sound of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted seven and twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lyfander immediately sent dispatches with this agreeable news to Sparta,

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lyfander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them for handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lyfander therefore caused him to be brought forth, and asked him, what sentence he would pass upon himself for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer, "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges, but as you are victor, use your right, and do by us as we had done by you, if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lyfander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all the Athenians in them to withdraw as soon as possible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other rout; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all such should be punished with death, as should be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more easily, and to render it incapable of sustaining a long siege. He afterwards applied himself in subverting the democratic, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *barnestæ*, and ten archons, or magistrates, whom he chose out of the societies he had established in them. He thereby in some measure secured to himself universal authority, and a kind of sovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power but such as were entirely devoted to his service,

SECT. VII. *Athens, besieged by Lysander, capitulates, and surrenders. Lysander changes the form of government, and establishes thirty commanders in it. He sends Gylippus before him to Sparta with all the gold and silver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the use to be made of it. The Peloponnesian war ends in this manner. Death of Darius Nothus.*

(k) **W**HEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ship, which arrived in the night at the Piræus, the city was in universal consternation. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard to prepare against a siege.

In effect Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lysander soon after arrived at the Piræus with an hundred and fifty sail, and prevented all ships from going in or coming out. The Athenians, besieged by sea and land, without provisions, ships, hope of relief, or any resource, re-instated all persons attainted by any decree, without speaking the least word of a capitulation however, though many already died of a famine. But when their corn was entirely consumed, they sent deputies to Agis, to propose a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their possessions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them. When they arrived at Salasia upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made

(k) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. Xenoph. Hellen, l. 2. p. 458—462. Plut. in Lysand, p. 440, 441.

made known their commission to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals, if they expected peace. The Ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each side of the Piræus should be demolished: but an Athenian, for venturing to advise a compliance, was sent to prison, and prohibition made against proposing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition Theramenes declared in the assembly, that if he were sent to Lyfander, he would know, whether the proposal made by the Lacedæmonians for dismantling the city, was intended to facilitate it's ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months absent; no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions that should be offered. On his return he told them, that Lyfander had detained him all that time, and that at last he had been given to understand, that he might apply to the Ephori. He was therefore sent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general assembly, where the Corinthians and several other allies, especially the Thebans, insisted that it was absolutely necessary to destroy the city without hearkening any farther to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and safety of Greece to their own grandeur, made answer, that they would never be reproached with having destroyed a city that had rendered such great services to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the resentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under these conditions: " That the fortifications of the
" Piræus, with the long wall that joined that port to the
" city, should be demolished; that the Athenians should deliver
" up all their galleys, twelve only excepted; that they should
" abandon all the cities they had seized, and content themselves
" with their own lands and country; that they should recal
" their exiles, and make a league offensive and defensive
" with

“ with the Lacedæmonians, under whom they should march
 “ wherever they thought fit to lead them.”

The deputies on their return were surrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, such multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the success of their negotiation; the treaty was ratified notwithstanding the opposition of some persons; and Lyfander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained it's liberty. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, after having continued during the space of twenty-seven years.

Lyfander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, established thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a good garrison into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius *harmostes* or governor. Agis dismissed his troops. Lyfander, before he disbanded his, advanced against Samos, which he pressed so warmly, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. After having established it's antient inhabitants in it, he proposed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian galleys, those of the Piræus, and the beaks of those he had taken.

He had sent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and spoils, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns, to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold, given him by the cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to say, fifteen hundred thousand crowns *. Gylippus, who carried this considerable sum, could not resist the temptation of converting some part of it to his own use. The bags were sealed up carefully, and did not seem to leave any room for theft. He unfewed them at the bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought

* About 337000 l. sterling.

fit,

fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he sewed them up again very neatly, and thought himself perfectly safe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, discovered him. To avoid punishment, he banished himself from his country, carrying along with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied, by so base and sordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most distinguishing of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enslaved not only the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lysander for having acted so contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to banish * all that gold and silver from the republic, and to lay the heaviest of curses and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other states, introduced only to corrupt the wholesome constitution of the Spartan government, which had supported itself for so many ages with vigour and prosperity. The Ephori immediately passed a decree to proscribe that money, and ordained that none should be current, except the usual pieces of iron. But Lysander's friends opposed this decree, and sparing no pains to retain the gold and silver in Sparta, the affair was referred for farther deliberation. There naturally seemed only two methods to be considered; which were, either to make the gold and silver species current, or to cry them down and prohibit them absolutely. The men of address and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their sense, reconciled both the others with great success: this was wisely to chuse the mean betwixt the vitious extremes of too much rigour and too much neglect. It was therefore resolved, that the new coin of gold and silver should be solely employed by the public treasury; that it should only pass in the occasions and uses of the state; and that every private person, in whose possession it should be found, should be immediately put to death.

A strange expedient, says Plutarch! As if Lycurgus had feared

* Ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι πάν τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγαγίμους.

feared the species of gold and silver, and not the avarice they occasion ; an avarice, less to be extinguished by prohibiting to particulars the possession of it, than enflamed by permitting the state to amass and make use of it for the service of the public. For it was impossible, whilst that money was in honour and esteem with the public, that it should be despised in private as useless, and that people should look upon that, as of no value in their domestic affairs, which the city prized, and were so much concerned to have for it's occasions ; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the public, being a thousand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the public. The Lacedæmonians therefore, continues Plutarch, in punishing those with death who should make use of the new money in private, were so blind and imprudent to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of punishment as a guard at the door, was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house : They left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves a violent passion for amassing treasure, in causing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

(1) It was about the end of the Peloponnesian war, that Darius Nothus king of Persia died, after a reign of nineteen years, Cyrus had arrived at the court before his death, and Parysatis his mother, whose idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithstanding the faults he had committed in his government, pressed the old king to declare him his successor also, after the example of Darius the first, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, because born, as Cyrus was, after his father's accession to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arfaces, his eldest son by Parysatis also, whom Plutarch calls Arficus, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he had already

(1) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

